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AUTHOR Lind, Robert William
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ABSTRACT

The major purpose of the research was the exploration of familistic attitudes and marriage role expectations of American Indian and White adolescents as related tc grade, age, sex, race, tribal affiliation, place of residence, academic achievement, future educational plans, parents' marital status, and language spcken in the home. Subjects were 150 White adolescents from Big Timber and Columbus, Montana; and 135 Indian adolescents from the Montana communities of Ashland, Dixon, Harlem, Lodge Grass, Poplar, and St. Ignatius. All were juniors and seniors in high school. Data was collected December 1970 and January 1971. Each student completed 3 instruments: a personal data questionnaire designed by the investigator; the Bardis Familism Scale; and the Dunn Marriage Role Expectation Inventory. Seven hypotheses were formulated and tested, the first of which was "There is a significant positive relationship between Familism Scale scores and Marriage Role Expectation Inventory scores for a. Indian and White adolescents b. Indian adolescents c. White adolescents d. Crow Indian adolescents...i. Other Indian adolescents." Findings indicated that the family seemed more important, more of a cohesive force, among the Indian students. Indian students were also more inclined tc perpetuate the traditional conceptions of marriage roles. (FF)

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FAMILISTIC ATTITUDES AND MARRIAGE ROLE EXPECTATIONS OF AMERICAN INDIAN AND WHITE ADOLESCENTS

BY

ROBERT WILLIAM LIND

THE FLORIDA STATE UNIVERSITY
School of Home Economics
Department of Home and Family Life

June, 1971

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THE FLORIDA STATE UNIVERSITY

SCHOOL OF HOME ECONOMICS

FAMILISTIC ATTITUDES AND MARRIAGE ROLE EXPECTATIONS OF AMERICAN INDIAN AND WHITE ADOLESCENTS

by

ROBERT WILLIAM LIND

A Dissertation submitted to the
Department of Home and Family Life
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Approved:

Ruth J. Dales
Professor Directing Dissertation

[illegible]

James F. Keller

Joyce M. Williams

[illegible]

Hortense M. Glenn
Dean, School of Home Economics

June, 1971

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

There has been relatively little progress toward widespread and general acceptance by the Indian of the dominant white culture in which he must live, though the popular assumption of white Americans has always been that eventually the Indian would be assimilated into the larger American society. The Indian has made many adaptations since the latter portion of the nineteenth century when the reservations were being established. In those same years, however, the white man has also made many changes. The issue is quite in doubt as to whether the last century has really seen a narrowing of the cultural distance between the Indian and the white societies. Bigart (1970) made the observation that

> The cultural differences separating Indians from the larger American society, however, are much greater than those that separate white Americans from newly arrived European immigrants; and evidence is accumulating that distinctively Indian communities in the United States will exist indefinitely (p. 27).

An interesting new thrust with respect to the Indian in the United States asserts that the Indian goal is not full acculturation; they do not desire to become white men with red skins, nor to hold doggedly to their ancient past. "The new Indians" are described by Steiner (1968) as feeling that the Indian has a significant contribution to make to American life, and that to some degree the white society should become acculturated to Indian ways. He wrote of "the New Indians:"

> The young, educated Indians are not seeking to hold on to the tribal past. . . . Rather they wish to live as contemporary Indians in the modern world, to modernize the old tribal ways so they will not only survive but will be revitalized.
>
> The new Indians have chafed at being called 'culturally deprived.' More and more of the youths believe that their

> own culture will not only survive but is superior to much of the way of life they see about them in the country. . . .
>
> The love of life, the love of every living thing, the communal brotherhood of the tribe, the free spirit of the individual, the loving--not prohibitive--care of children, the larger love of the kinship family, the concept of justice, not punishment, the wholeness of man, the eternity of the present, the root and identity of the soul--these are some of the things that tribal society might bring to technological society in spiritual payment for its material goods and services (pp. 155-157).

The fact is well known that the Indian, from earliest times of contact with the white culture, has been making some accomodations and adjustments to it. To a greater or lesser degree, depending upon the tribe and locality being considered, the Indian has learned how to live in the white society. But Lesser (1961, p. 137) pointed out that

> . . . modern studies of Indian communities show that adoption of the externals of American life is not neatly correlated with accompanying changes in basic Indian attitudes, mind, and personality. Feelings and attitudes, the life of the inner man, change more slowly than utilitarian features of comfort and convenience.

The Indian has been quite selective in the adjustments he has made. In general the tendency has been for him to accept the benefits of the material culture readily enough, but to maintain a posture of skepticism regarding the white man's philosophy of life. This attitude was described by Brophy and Aberle (1966) in these words:

> Ostensible familiarity with the English language and the adoption of white manners and customs by no means demonstrates that the Indian adopts the white man's ethics. . . .
>
> No tests yet devised show whether an individual Indian has changed his basic emotions. Regardless of the degree of acculturation, studies show that a persistent core of aboriginal goals and expectations is still discernible in some Indians (p. 10).

The basic differences between Indian and white values have been noted by many scholars (Ablon, 1965; Spindler and Spindler, 1957;

Chaloupka, 1970; Lesser, 1961). Chaloupka (1970, pp. 5-7) commented that in most instances the basic Indian value is almost diametrically opposed to the basic white American value. Indians are present-oriented while whites are future-oriented; Indians value giving and sharing of wealth, while whites value accumulating wealth; Indians show deference to the aged and equate age with wisdom, while whites glorify youth; Indians value cooperation while whites value competition; Indians appreciate nature for its own sake, while whites are more interested in learning to control and harness it; Indians have strong feelings of loyalty toward extended kin while whites place a much greater value on the nuclear family than on the extended family.

Nine fundamental attributes or psychological features of the American Indian were enumerated by Spindler and Spindler (1957):

> (1) Nondemonstrative emotionality and reserve, with a high degree of control of interpersonal aggression within the in-group; (2) a pattern of generosity; (3) autonomy of the individual; (4) the ability to endure pain, hunger, hardship, and frustration without external evidence of discomfort; (5) a positive valuation of bravery and courage; (6) a generalized fear of the world as dangerous; (7) a practical joker strain that is highly institutionalized; (8) attention to concrete realities of the present; and (9) dependence on a supernatural power that controls one's fate (p. 148).

There can be little question that most of the socio-economic problems confronting the Indian today are largely a function of his limited acceptance of the cultural norms of the dominant society. Therefore, the solutions lie in the direction of fuller accommodation to the prevailing national culture. This should not be construed, however, as a refutation or rejection of the Indian value system. There are admirable aspects to it; the question is whether the Indian, living according to such a system, can survive in the contemporary American society.

When white men first set foot on this continent they found the Indian was already here and had an age-old culture. From a fossil site near Helena, Montana, arrowheads and other artifacts have been unearthed which clearly indicate the existence there of an unchanging way of Indian life for at least 10,000 years before the coming of the white man (Forbis and Sperry, 1952). It is estimated by Genovese (1967) that Indian life on the North American continent may go back as much as 35,000 years, dating to an age when a land mass perhaps 1,000 miles wide connected Siberia to the North American mainland.

At the time the Indian and white cultures first came into contact, the white society was crude as compared to the present day. But at that point in time the Indian was still fundamentally a paleolithic man. He had not invented the wheel, nor firearms, nor any of the "modern" devices he saw in the possession of the white frontiersmen. To adapt himself to our culture the Indian has had to attempt to leap from the stone age to the space age in less than a century. It would be remarkable if there were not a degree of resistance. A people cannot reasonably be expected to forget in a century what they have been for thousands of years.

The reluctance with which the Indian adapts to the white culture creates problems for him, and for the total society. His ancient culture, admirably suited for the life of the nomadic buffalo hunter, is counter-productive in the modern world. Sorkin (1969) pointed out some disquieting facts:

> The median income for reservation families is $1,800, with 76 per cent of all reservation families earning incomes below the poverty threshold of $3,000. Unemployment of reservation males in 1967 was 37.3 per cent of the available labor force, or 50 per cent higher than U.S. unemployment as a whole in the worst days of the depression of the thirties (p. 244).

Sorkin further reported that in 1966 over 75 per cent of all reservation homes were substandard, and that the Indian is also educationally underprivileged. As of 1966, 55 per cent of all those in the 18 to 35 age group had completed eight or less years of school. Only 19 per cent had completed high school or gone beyond high school in their education.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs (1970) stated that the Indian birth rate was double that of the nation as a whole. Due to the cumulative effect of poor housing, poor diet, unsafe water supply, and lack of health knowledge, the Indian is in poor health. Infectious and communicable diseases are more prevalent among the Indian than among the total population. Trachoma, almost unknown among whites, is present to a high degree in the Indian. The Indian tuberculosis rate is seven times as great as that of whites. The result of all this is that Indian life expectancy is significantly below that of whites.

The Indian adolescents in the present study were all from the state of Montana. According to figures reported by Thompson (1970), the Indian is faring no better in Montana than elsewhere. On Montana reservations in March of 1970, unemployment stood at 44 per cent of the available labor force. Since the Northern Cheyenne and Flathead reservations consistently maintain only about a 25 per cent rate of unemployment, the rates on the other reservations would have to be very much higher to produce the 44 per cent over-all figure.

With regard to income of Monana Indians, Spang (1970) stated that family income below $1,000 per year was three times as prevalent among the rural Indian population as among the total rural population.

Lin and Chase (1970) found that only one-third of the rural Indians had gone to high school and three per cent had gone to college. Dropout rates for Indian students are twice the national average, with some schools reporting dropout rates approaching 100 per cent for Indians, according to McDonald (1970, p. 42). He added that achievement level of Indian students lags two or three years behind that of white students, and that Indians fall progressively further behind the longer they stay in school.

The serious and numerous problems of the Indian are important not only to him, but to all Americans. There is a need for a contemporary evaluation of the progress of Indian acculturation and an understanding of the values he holds.

The totality of the Indian culture is too broad to be encompassed in any single study. It is necessary that the subject be viewed in a somewhat more limited perspective. The family is often considered a microcosm of the larger social order. For this reason an assumption is made that investigating some Indian attitudes and beliefs with respect to the family will produce a clearer perception of the Indian culture. A further assumption is that familistic attitudes and marriage role expectations may be measured and interpreted as indicators of cultural change or continuity. A comparison of responses of white and Indian subjects on these value orientations will reflect the degree to which Indian and white attitudes and values related to the family are converging or diverging.

Spiro (1955, p. 1247) said, "If parents are the agents of cultural continuity . . . in acculturation children become the agents of cultural change." In view of this statement, the assumption is

made that examining the familistic attitudes and marriage role expectations of Indian and white youths will afford a preview of the value structure of the next generation of parents.

Empirical data with regard to familistic attitudes and marriage role expectations of Indians do not exist. It thus becomes necessary to rely on data of an anthropological nature and on data derived from studies of acculturation of ethnic groups in America. The shortcomings of data such as these are acknowledged; however, they are the best that is presently available in this area.

Observational data of anthropologists present a picture of the Indian in his early reservation and pre-reservation days as being very familistic and highly authoritarian in marriage role expectations (Denig, 1961; Ewers, 1958; Hanks and Hanks, 1950; Lesser, 1961; Lindquist, 1923; Lowie, 1912, 1917, 1934, 1954; Wissler, 1912, 1934, 1938).

Studies of the acculturation of ethnic groups in America which have dealt with familistic attitudes and marriage role expectations present a similar perspective (Spiro, 1955; Tharp, Meadow, Lennhoff and Satterfield, 1968; Bardis, 1959a, 1961). To the extent that acculturation has not taken place, families remain highly traditional and authoritarian. Conversely, to the extent the acculturation process has taken place, families exhibit greater degrees of equalitarian attitudes.

Contemporary research on familism and marriage role expectations of white subjects has consistently produced evidence that in the United States there is a growing trend toward more individualistic, less familistic attitudes, and toward more equalitarian marriage role expectations (Bardis, 1959a, c, d; Bell, 1956; Benson, 1955; Cleland, 1955;

Dunn, 1959; Freeman and Showel, 1952; Geiken, 1964; Reilly, 1963; Roehl, 1962; Rogers and Sebald, 1962; Hanley, 1967; Mowrer, 1969; Sebald and Andrews, 1962; Wilkening, 1954). The evidence comes from such varied sources that one is led to conclude that this phenomenon applies to families without regard for sociological variables such as social status, income, place of residence, etc. Not only is there a movement away from traditional, authoritarian attitudes; it also appears that those who have been somewhat equalitarian are becoming even more equalitarian.

Purpose

The purpose of this study was to measure and compare the familistic attitudes and marriage role expectations of Indian and white youths in late adolescence. A primary question underlying the investigation was whether Indian youths are significantly more oriented than white youths toward maintenance of cultural traditions. Another basic question addressed was that of the kind and amount of difference that exists between Indian adolescents of several Plains tribes with respect to familistic attitudes and marriage role expectations. On the basis of these data a contemporary estimate of the progress of Indian acculturation may be made. A basis was also established for comparing the attitudes, expectations, and family values of Indian youths with white youths, and with Indian youths of other tribes.

Variables and Rationale

Those familistic attitudes and marriage role expectations which a person holds are influenced by many sociological variables. It would not be realistic for any single study to make the attempt to explore

every variable factor which conceivably could have a bearing on the attitudes of an individual or group; however, it is possible to isolate certain factors which can be predicted to exercise a definite effect. In the present investigation the following sociological variables were examined: grade, age, sex, race, tribal affiliation, academic achievement, future educational plans, place of residence, parent's marital status, and language spoken in the home.

Logical consistency demands that lower values of familism be accompanied by less authoritarian marriage role expectations, and the research works previously noted indicate that this may be expected. Thus it was hypothesized that a positive correlation exists between scores on the two attitude scales for each of the respondent groups in the study.

Grade in school, age, and sex of respondents have been found to be differentiating factors in other studies of familism and marriage role expectations (Hanley, 1967; Bardis, 1959a, 1959b; Dunn, 1959; Gould, 1961; Moser, 1961; Motz, 1950). Of these, only Hanley employed a concurrent study of both concepts; others have focused on familism or marriage role expectations, but not both. Findings on these factors have varied so that the nature of their influence cannot be predicted with certainty in a specific sample. However, since these factors have been found quite consistently to be influential, it was assumed that in the present investigation a relationship exists between these factors and the scores on the Familism Scale and Marriage Role Expectation Inventory.

Racial grouping and tribal affiliation are unknown with regard to their influence on familistic attitudes and marriage role expectations,

because no previous study has been found in which these attitude scales and sociological variables have been used. The assumption was made that it does mean something to be an Indian rather than a white man, and that it also means something to be a member, let us say, of the Crow tribe rather than of the Flathead or Assiniboin tribe. For this reason the assumption was made that a significant difference exists on the basis of Indian or non-Indian, and tribal affiliation.

Academic achievement and future educational plans can both be readily conceived as existing on a continuum from low to high. Furthermore, both can be viewed as representing the degree of acceptance of the dominant culture's value system, which places much emphasis on achievement in school and the importance of continuing one's education beyond high school. Since cultural accomodation appears consistently to be accompanied by attitudes which are increasingly equilitarian, it appeared reasonable to make the assumption that a relationship exists between academic achievement, future educational plans, and scores on the two indexes.

Tharp and his associates (1968) found in a study of Mexican-American families that one of the factors which could be closely linked with the degree of acculturation was the language spoken in the home. As the English language became more fully adopted for daily use, there was an increase of equalitarianism in marriage roles. Those who continued to speak Spanish in the home continued to be more authoritarian. While there is no evidence available on this phenomenon with regard to the Indian, it appears to be a factor of considerable interest. The assumption seems reasonable that scores on the familism scale and marriage

role expectation inventory would rise as the use of non-English language rises.

Historically, it has been a part of the Plains Indian tradition for marriage to be perceived more in terms of transience than permanence (Lowie, 1912, 1917, 1935; Denig, 1961; Wissler, 1912, 1934). Hanks and Hanks (1950) have noted that a trend toward short-term marriage is still quite evident among the Blackfeet. The assumption thus appears justified that among the Indian portions of the sample in the present investigation there would be a significantly higher incidence of homes in which one or both of the parents had been previously married and divorced. It was also expected that the reality of this would have some bearing upon the familistic attitudes and marriage role expectations of the youths in such homes. No evidence exists to indicate the direction of the difference, however.

Even though the town may be a very small one, there is a qualitative difference between living in a town and living in the country. Since previous studies, such as that of Zimmerman and Frampton (1935), have found that higher levels of familism and a more authoritarian family structure are to be found in rural settings, it was hypothesized in this study that place of residence would be a significant factor in determining scores on the two scales.

Hypotheses

The following specific hypotheses were tested in the study:

1. There is a significant positive relationship between Familism Scale scores and Marriage Role Expectation Inventory scores for
   a. Indian and White Adolescents
   b. Indian Adolescents

c. White Adolescents
d. Crow Indian Adolescents
e. Northern Cheyenne Indian Adolescents
f. Flathead Indian Adolescents
g. Sioux Indian Adolescents
h. Assiniboin Indian Adolescents
i. Other Indian Adolescents.

2. There is a significant difference in the Familism Scale scores of Indian and White Adolescents on the basis of

   a. Tribal Affiliation and Sex
   b. Tribal Affiliation and Grade in School
   c. Tribal Affiliation and Parents' Marital Status
   d. Tribal Affiliation and Place of Residence.

3. There is a significant difference in the Familism Scale scores of Indian and White Adolescents on the basis of

   a. Race and Age
   b. Race and Sex
   c. Race and Academic Achievement
   d. Race, Academic Achievement, and Future Educational Plans.

4. There is a significant difference in the Marriage Role Expectation Inventory scores of Indian and White Adolescents on the basis of

   a. Tribal Affiliation and Sex
   b. Tribal Affiliation and Grade in School
   c. Tribal Affiliation and Parents' Marital Status
   d. Tribal Affiliation and Place of Residence.

5. There is a significant difference in the Marriage Role Expectation Inventory scores of Indian and White Adolescents on the basis of

   a. Race and Age
   b. Race and Sex
   c. Race and Academic Achievement
   d. Race, Academic Achievement, and Future Educational Plans.

6. There is a significant difference in the Familism Scale scores of Indian Adolescents on the basis of

   a. Language and Place of Residence
   b. Language and Parents' Marital Status
   c. Language and Age
   d. Language and Sex.

7. There is a significant difference in the Marriage Role Expectation Inventory scores of Indian Adolescents on the basis of

   a. Language and Place of Residence
   b. Language and Parents' Marital Status

c. Language and Age
d. Language and Sex.

Definitions

Familism is a concept which has been useful in assessing the degree to which persons feel a sense of loyalty, commitment, and obligation to their families. Zadrozny (1959, p. 116) defined familism as "the feeling and the conviction among members of the family that their family unit is a worthwhile group demanding the loyalty and cooperation of all its members, and one that should be preserved and perpetuated." Similarly, Rogers and Sebald (1962, p. 26) stated that "familism is the subordination of individual interests to those of the family group."

Others (Heller, 1970; Hanley, 1967; Zimmerman, 1935) have also agreed that familism involves the subordination of individual interests to the interests of the family.

The point has been made by Rogers and Sebald (1962) and by several other scholars (Burgess and Locke, 1953; Cleland, 1955; Wilkening, 1954) that the construct of familism must be seen as being composed of two basic elements: nuclear family integration and extended family integration. It has been found that strong familistic attitudes with respect to the nuclear family are not always accompanied by feelings of equal intensity toward the extended kin.

Burgess and Locke (1953) identified five specific characteristics of familism:

> (1) a feeling of belonging to a family group; (2) integration of activities of family members for the attainment of family objectives; (3) the utilization of family resources to help needy members; (4) rallying to the support of a member, if he is in trouble; and (5) the maintenance of continuity between the parental family and new family units (pp. 71-72).

A cross-cultural perspective on the meaning of familism was given by Ch'eng-K'un (1944, p. 51-54) as he identified four basic tenets of familism as being the foundation of the Chinese social order:

> (1) Chinese children were not allowed to talk back to their parents, to ignore their commands or thwart their wishes; (2) the younger brother was expected to be very devoted to his elder brother; (3) a wife was to have a proper attitude of respect and deference to her husband and her parents-in-law; and (4) there was to be a strong feeling of continuity in the family.

In view of these several statements, familism was defined in this study as feelings of loyalty and responsibility toward the family group and individual family members. The assumption was made that familism is increasingly focused upon the nuclear family rather than the extended family, and that increasing acculturation produces a movement toward more individualistic, less familistic attitudes.

Marriage role expectations are the conceptions of the parts each spouse will play in a marriage relationship, and are primarily derived in the home in which a person is reared. Waller (1938) has stated that the equalitarian nature of the family in which a person is reared has considerable bearing on the role expectations he will carry into his own marriage. Waller and Hill (1951) expressed the conviction that marriage role expectations are not formed in marriage, but are brought to the marriage as a product of each partner's upbringing.

There seems to be little question, wrote Cavan (1969), that the tendency in all parts of the nation is toward more equalitarian marriage roles, particularly among the middle class.

Mangus (1957) defined marriage role expectations in terms of the conceptions a man and a woman bring to marriage of what a husband

should be and what a wife should be. Kirkpatrick (1955) said that the child learns through observation in his home what it means to be a husband or a wife. He sees how his father and mother relate toward each other, toward the child and his siblings, and toward others. His observations of these roles become incorporated into his own personality structure and behavior patterns.

In the present research marriage role expectations were defined as the roles one expects himself to play in marriage and the roles he expects his spouse to play. As with familism, it was assumed that increasing accommodation to the norms of the dominant culture produces a concomitant movement toward more equalitarian concepts of marriage roles.

The variables used in the study were defined and operationalized in the following manner:

Grade: All respondents were high school juniors and seniors.

Age: Each respondent was placed in age group one, two, or three: 16 or younger, 17 or 18, 19 or older.

Race: This variable divided the total sample into Indian or non-Indian (White).

Tribal Affiliation: Each respondent was placed in one of these groups: (1) Crow; (2) Northern Cheyenne; (3) Flathead; (4) Sioux; (5) Assiniboin; (6) Other Tribes--a composite grouping of Indian students in those instances where only a very few belonged to any one tribe; (7) Non-Indians, no tribal affiliation (White students).

Academic Achievement: At the highest level were those students whose grades in school for the past two years have been mostly A's and B's; for the middle level those whose grades have been mostly B's and C's; at the lowest level those whose grades have been mostly C's and lower.

Future Educational Plans: The three levels of response were in terms of future plans to attend college, to attend a trade or vocational school, or to terminate education after high school graduation.

Place of Residence: Each respondent was listed as residing in town or out of town.

Parents' Marital Status: The three response levels included those students whose parents were both in their first marriage; those having one parent who was previously married and divorced; and students whose parents both had been previously married and divorced.

Language Spoken in the Home: This factor was applicable only to the Indian portion of the sample, since only seven of the white students reported any use of a non-English language. The Indian students were classified as those in whose homes only English is spoken; those in whose homes a non-English language is spoken some of the time; and those in whose homes a non-English language is spoken most of the time.

Familism Score: This refers to the score a student received on the Bardis Familism Scale.

Marriage Role Expectation Score: This refers to the score a student received on the Dunn Marriage Role Expectation Inventory.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Familism and the Plains Indian

Familism as an ideal construct was found by Zimmerman and Frampton (1935) to be most nearly approximated by families living in the Ozark Highlands, where strong family ties have been preserved in the face of increasing individualism elsewhere. It has been noted (Zimmerman & Frampton, 1935; Burgess & Locke, 1953; Heller, 1970) that rural families are familistic to a significantly greater degree than urban families. Zimmerman and Frampton (1935) commented:

> Geographic isolation is one of the most important elements in maintaining the purity of the mores of these (Ozark Highlands) families, and in protecting them from the influence of urban individualism. This isolation is a genuine defense mechanism though it may not be a wholly conscious one (p. 281).

Geographic isolation will of necessity be accompanied by social isolation. Television and other modern means of communication will continue to exert an influence in bringing those who are geographically isolated into closer contact with the larger society. Still, the breaking down of social isolation is unlikely to occur rapidly when daily face-to-face contact is lacking because of geographic isolation.

The seven Indian reservations in Montana provide some degree of geographic isolation. Moreover, a considerable degree of social isolation was created for the Indian by placing him on a reservation and thereby making him a man apart from the general society.

Fischbacher (1967) stated that the single purpose behind all federal policies and legislation regarding Indians, past and present, has been to bring the Indian into full relationship as a citizen of

the United States. Establishing reservations was at first conceived as a means to this end, but it seems to have worked toward the opposite end. If one desired to prevent the Indian's assimilation into the total culture, it would be quickly realized that the most effective first step would be to remove him from daily interaction with the white society.

The two conditions under which familism flourishes best, social and geographic isolation, are thus assured for the reservation Indian of the Plains.

Numerous evidences of the highly traditional and familistic way of life of the Plains Indian tribes are available through observational studies of anthropologists. Wissler (1912) and Lowie (1912, 1935) both noted that arranged marriages were more the rule than the exception, and that the custom of bride price was commonly observed. Though the tribes have repeatedly denied the existence of the bride price custom, observers have consistently reported that gifts of horses were customarily presented to the bride's parents. It was quite universally accepted that a "bought wife" was of higher quality, and that marriage to such a woman would result in a more stable union than would a marriage by elopement or other more casual alliance.

Wissler (1912, 1934) said there was no restriction on the number of wives a man could have, but no woman could have more than one husband. A man who married an eldest daughter had preemptive rights to the younger daughers as they reached marriageable age. A man who desired additional wives was thought wise to marry sisters, as it was felt they would be less quarrelsome wives.

The levirate and sororate are ancient Jewish customs requiring a man to marry the widow of a deceased brother (levirate) or to marry the widow of his wife's deceased brother (sororate). While the levirate and sororate were practiced among the Plains Indian tribes, their observance was not held to be obligatory. Lowie (1935) stated that these customs were practiced with some frequency, but by no means in all cases.

Marriage being wholly secular and accomplished with very little ceremony, it was also dissolved with equal ease. Laziness and adultery were the two main grounds (Wissler, 1912), but a man could turn his wife out or she could leave him for any number of reasons, or for no good reason at all. Lowie (1935) observed that short-term marriage was something of a cultural ideal. A man who lived too long with one wife became the butt of joking, scorn, and ridicule. He was said to be "like a hunter who kills a buffalo and just stays by the carcass, lacking the spirit to pursue the herd" (p. 48).

In this authoritarian structure the status of women was low. Women outnumbered men in the tribes sometimes by as much as three or four to one because men were so often killed in buffalo hunts and in battle. Denig (1961) stated that women were generally regarded as socially inferior to men. They had no voice in councils, and could not converse with their husband when other men were present. They were, in a sense, the property of their husband more than his companion.

Their way of life demanded the nearness and assistance of family members and of other tribal families as well. Defending themselves and pursuing the herds of buffalo required group effort. Thus,

Ablon (1965) remarked that the Indian by ancient tradition was not geared to cope with life in isolated nuclear family units in the self-sufficient pattern of city life today.

The immediacy of the relationship of the family to the total society was explained by Deloria (1970):

> Tribes are not simply composed of Indians. They are highly organized as clans, within which variations of tribal traditions and customs govern. While the tribe makes decisions on general affairs, clans handle specific problems.
>
> Customs rise as clans meet specific problems and solve them. They overflow from the clans into general tribal usage as their capability and validity are recognized. Thus a custom can spread from a minor clan to the tribe as a whole and prove to be a significant basis for tribal behavior (p. 229).

There is found in the literature sufficient justification for including the several tribes in this study under the common category of "Plains Indians." Although they go by different names and have some variations in their customs, and although they live on widely separated reservations in the vastness of Montana, the anthropological data reveal a common rootage. For example, it was written by Wissler (1966, pp. 196-197) that

> There are many reasons for guessing that the Hidatsa way of life, the way of the southern Siouans, is the old way and that the Crow, Sioux, and Assiniboin, not long before the white man came, were living according to this old way, but that the open plains lured them to take to tepees, abandon pottery and finally to become thoroughgoing horse Indians.

Other tribes included in this investigation were identified by Murdock as bona fide members of the Plains group:

> The Cheyenne and Arapaho, two tribes of the west central Plains, subsisted mainly by hunting the buffalo, living in migratory bands in skin tipis. Polygyny was common and was preferentially sororal. . . . A somewhat variant form of life was found among the Algonkian tribes of the Plains--Blackfoot, Blood, Piegan, and Gros Ventre. These groups closely resembled

> the Arapaho and Cheyenne in their migratory mode of life, in their predominantly hunting economy, and in their political organization. . . .
>
> The Salish type is more widely distributed in North America than any other type . . . and there is reason to suspect that it is the original type from which most other North American systems have arisen by one or two steps of normal evolutionary development (1965, pp. 29-31).

The Salish type of which Murdock speaks includes the Flathead as well as the Confederated Kootenai-Salish tribe. Possibly the major distinction between these tribes and the others in this study is that they live on the western side of the Continental Divide in Montana, while all the others live on the eastern side. Since more of their land is heavily timbered with marketable trees, these tribes have been somewhat better off economically than have the eastern tribes. And because they have been more regularly involved with white society through occupations and contractual matters, these western tribes appear to be more fully in tune with the white society.

Because all of the tribes included in the present investigation are Plains Indian tribes who have historically shared most basic family and tribal customs, there is a sound basis for considering them together in the present instance. Historically the views of these several tribes have been very closely related with regard to familistic attitudes and marriage role expectations. The extent to which their views at the present time diverge or converge may be interpreted as a measure of their progress in acculturation.

Familistic Attitude Studies

Although Indians in general have been the subjects in a large number of studies, a thorough review of the literature reveals that no

previous studies have been done on the topic of familism among Indian youths or adults. Those studies which do speak of familism among Indians are in the nature of anthropological observations. Statistical studies of familism all deal with non-Indian populations. Some studies have examined the familistic attitudes of young people; others have reflected parental attitudes.

Bardis (1959b) studied the familistic attitudes of 152 high school and college students at Peloponnesus in southern Greece, whose responses were compared with the responses of three samples of Mennonites and Methodists in the United States. The Greek students registered the highest familistic attitudes and the Methodists the lowest. Although sex was not a differentiating factor among the Methodists, it was found that among the Greeks females were more familistic than males. The reverse of this was true for the Mennonites. Younger Methodists were much more familistic than the older students. Bardis attributed this to the fact that the younger students were still more dependent on the family for their support.

Bardis (1959d) used his Familism Scale again in a study of the influence of a functional marriage course in college on the familistic attitudes of students. In this study it was found that the older students had stronger familistic attitudes than the younger students. The general conclusion of the study was, however, that a typical marriage course in college has no significant effect upon the student's familistic attitudes.

In an intergenerational study, Bardis (1959a) had as his sample 68 Michigan college students and their parents. Data from this study revealed no significant difference between the two generations in their

familistic attitudes, although males appeared to be somewhat more familistic than females.

Using a random sample of 80 Jewish men and their wives in a suburb of a large midwestern city, Bardis (1961) found insignificant differences in their familistic attitudes. A positive relationship was noted between religiousness and family stability.

Several researchers (Jaco and Belknap, 1953; Bell, 1956; Wilensky, 1956) have observed that the relatively recent phenomenon of suburban living has some implications for familism. The urban fringe family has removed itself from the inner city in favor of the more rewarding aspects of family life offered by the suburbs. Bell (1956) found that 83 per cent of the cases in his sample gave reasons for moving to the suburbs that indicated a familistic orientation. Few had moved to the suburbs in order to be nearer their relatives, suggesting that in this case the familistic feeling was being projected toward the nuclear family rather than the extended family.

Winch, Greer, and Blumberg (1967) made an investigation in a Chicago tract of 200 upper-middle-class households. All were in the $13,500 to $17,500 annual income range, and 76 per cent of the respondent families were Jewish. They found the Jewish people to be less migratory and more familistic than the non-Jewish portion of their sample, which led them to the conclusion that the Jewish persons were non-migratory because they were more familistic. Non-migration was associated with maintenance of the extended kinship network. From this, the authors generalized, making the statement that part of the greater familism which characterizes rural areas is due to the greater

stability of the rural population as compared to the more highly mobile urban population.

With a sample of 515 adults in the state of Washington, Freeman and Showel (1952) tested the relationship between familistic attitudes and attitudes toward divorce. Their data led them to the conclusion that the stronger the familistic orientation, the greater the likelihood of family stability. It was also found that women had a more familistic (traditional) attitude toward divorce than the men in this sample.

Benson (1955) studied the positive side of the same issue, inquiring whether familistic attitudes were positively related to marital success. His conclusion was that marriages having a higher degree of familistic interests were more successful than marriages typified by more individualistic concerns.

Hanley (1967), in a study of 748 college students from four regions of the United States, hypothesized that there would be no significant relationship between familistic attitudes and marriage role expectations. Results of the investigation revealed that familistic attitudes of college students were significantly related to their marriage role expectations, and that familistic attitudes were significantly related to the sex of the respondent. No relationship was found in the other variables that were examined. Hanley's conclusion was that traditionalism with respect to familistic attitudes and marriage role expectations is rapidly giving way in America. The growing trend is toward weaker family ties and more equalitarian concepts of marital roles.

At Pennsylvania State University, Heller (1970) administered a familism scale to 764 students. The data of the study tended to

support the proposition that urban family members function within a network of kin relations and mutual aid activities, indicating that a predominantly urban setting has not destroyed the meaning of the family.

In a study of a similar nature, Sebald and Andrews (1962) examined family integration in a rural-urban fringe area. They defined family integration as the degree to which family members: (1) subordinate their aspirations to family goals; (2) accept the rules and beliefs of the family; (3) are interdependent in their need for affection; and (4) cooperate spontaneously and voluntarily. This definition very closely approximates the general definition of familism, but in this case the authors were limiting its scope to the nuclear family and excluding extended kinship ties. The findings of the study, which involved a sample of 303 in the fringe area around Columbus, Ohio, revealed that urban fringe families had basically healthy attitudes. The family was not characterized by seclusion or withdrawal from the world. The more highly integrated the family, the more involved they were in community activities, the more value they placed on education, and the more satisfied they were with their type of existence.

Marriage Role Expectations of the Plains Indian

The opinion is expressed by many who have studied marriage roles (Burgess and Locke, 1953; Kirkpatrick, 1955, 1963; Mangus, 1957; Duvall, 1962, 1967; Cavan, 1969) that the most important single factor in determining a person's marriage role expectations is the home and family in which he is reared.

Rainwater (1968) identified three basic role structures by which families function. The joint conjugal role-relationship he defined as a

marriage in which the predominant pattern is for roles to be shared and interchangeable. Segregated conjugal role-relationship represents quite the reverse, where all tasks, duties, and activities are strictly delineated to one partner or the other. The third type, intermediate conjugal role-relationship, Rainwater used to refer to those marital situations where the role conduct lies somewhere in between the two polar types.

Applying Rainwater's formulation, it is abundantly clear that the normative Plains Indian role structure was developed on the basis of the segregated role-relationship. Denig (1961), Ewers (1958), Lowie (1912, 1935), and Wissler (1912, 1934) commented as with one voice that male and female roles were strictly segregated. On the occasion of a marriage every new bride and groom knew precisely what their respective duties would be in their life together. No man would suffer being disgraced among the braves by ever putting his hand to a task defined as that of a woman.

It was considered to be the father's task to educate the boys to the ways they would need to know in order to function as adult males, while the mother's responsibility was to train the girls for their adult roles (Ewers, 1958). Every task required for the maintenance of the family or tribe was quite unambiguously defined as being man's work or woman's work.

Blood (1969, p. 167) said, "Most people learn how to be good husbands and wives in the process of growing up. They learn what it means to be a husband and a wife by observing their father and mother." Precisely in this way did the Indian children learn their roles in the

family of old (Lowie, 1935; Denig, 1961). The play of the children was largely imitative of the activities of the parents. Little boys hunted little animals, while little girls had "playhouse" tipis in which to play and practice the homemaking arts. Training of boys and girls, which in the main determined their marriage role expectations, was simplified by the clear delineation of adult roles in Indian society, which allowed for little overlapping of responsibility. Every task required for the maintenance of the family or tribe was specifically recognized as being woman's work or man's work.

Lowie (1935) said that commencing at about the age of ten, boys and girls in their play spent most of their time mimicking the activities of their parents and other adults. Girls often had small tipis as playhouses, and these would be packed up and moved at the same time and in the same way as their mothers moved the real tipis. The boys would hunt rabbits and other small game, bring their kill to the girls' tipis, and the girls would cook the meat, just as their mothers did when the men returned from a hunting party.

On the part of the American citizenry in general, as the studies on the next pages will indicate, there has been a rather definite shift away from rigid and authoritarian marriage role toward more companionate, equalitarian role structures. Rainwater and Handel (1964) commented on this trend:

> The husband does not define himself as an independent agent, as he traditionally tended to. . . . The couple tends to relate together as a couple. Within the family, the husband defines himself as a more involved person; he expects to participate more actively. . . . and leave fewer things up to his wife. . . . He actually has more influence in what goes on at home because he is there more and because he expects to cooperate with his wife both in making decisions and in carrying them out. The

> wife, for her part, expects to consult her husband more actively; she is less likely to define herself as (by default or design) the person who must make all of the decisions around the house (p. 72).

It was noted by Adams (1971) that in the past the husband's place of authority in the family was derived from the economic function, which was commonly exercised within the family milieu. Now the husband typically goes to an office, factory, or store in the exercise of the economic function for the family, leaving the wife at home as the authority in the social-emotional roles.

> The male has not so much simply lost authority; rather the kind of authority he formerly held within the family cannot now be appropriately exercised because the family no longer engages as a unit in the kind of economic activities over which men exercise authority (Adams, 1971, p. 242).

Nimkoff (1954) also observed the changing trend and pointed out that both men and women expect different things of their mates than formerly. Previously, women were most concerned to find a man who would be a good provider, while men sought wives who would be good homemakers. Due to increasing levels of female education and employment, women are no longer so economically dependent. And due to the size and conveniences of modern homes, men no longer need to have as much concern about home-making matters. The result of the change is that both men and women are now more free to seek mates who can best provide enjoyable companionship.

Since studies of marriage role expectations among the Indian populace are lacking, it is not known to how great an extent this changing role structure has affected their lives. It is a basic assumption of the present investigation that to the extent the Indian has progressed in acculturation he will also have experienced the shift toward more equalitarian marriage roles.

Marriage Role Expectation Studies

As in the case of familistic attitudes, it is also true with regard to marriage role expectations of Indian youths that no previous studies have been reported. There have been a number of marriage role expectation studies done with white subjects of high school and college age. For information on Indian marriage role expectations it is necessary to glean occasional references from works of an anthropological nature.

The transmission of authority patterns in the family was studied by Ingersoll (1948), using a sample of 37 college seniors, all of whom were married. It was found that these young married persons had tended strongly to carry into their marriages the authority patterns they had learned in their parental homes. Those coming from homes dissimilar in authority patterns had tended to arrive at compromise positions that were more equalitarian.

An intergenerational study was carried out by Borke (1967) in which she wished to discern how marriage role expectations are transmitted from one generation to the next. Her study of interaction patterns led her to conclude that

> The evidence suggests that continuity in interaction and relationship patterns does occur from one generation to the next. . . . The data also suggest that an individual may be similar to a parent in one relationship and not at all similar in another. For example, Randy's relationship with his wife closely resembles his father's relationship with his mother, but both men differ greatly in the way they relate to their children (p. 645).

An earlier intergenerational study, also by Borke (1963), produced a similar conclusion:

> Continuity over the two generations seemed to result primarily from two forces: (1) the children's internalization of selected patterns of parental behavior; and (2) the unconscious

> tendency of both parents to encourage their children to develop patterns for coping and relating similar to those they experienced in their original families (p. 299).

A random sample of 250 Mexican-American families in Tucson, Arizona provided the basis for a study by Tharp, Meadow, Lennhoff, and Satterfield (1968). While it is recognized that Mexican-Americans are not to be equated with American Indians, the process of acculturation in which both groups are involved provides some commonality between them. Tharp and his associates found that among the older, more conservative persons, Spanish was still the predominant language spoken. Patterns of marital roles in this group were still holding true to the traditional authoritative form. The younger, more progressive persons spoke mostly English and were markedly more equalitarian in roles and role expectations. Based upon their findings, these authors concluded that

> Marriage role elements vary according to cultural orientation and can be systematically observed even in bilingual groups during the process of acculturation. . . . The more acculturated the group, the greater the marriage role change toward an egalitarian-companionate marriage pattern. We are justified in maintaining that family values henceforth may be considered among the crucial and sensitive indices of cultural orientation, along with language use, education, residence, etc. . . . Mexican-American children, like children the world over, observe the role relationships between husband and wife at a very early age, and undoubtedly this is a major determinant of role expectations as they are carried forward into the family of procreation. Yet our data clearly indicate that the English-speaking group have strikingly changed the concept of this role relationship which they heave learned as children. . . . The alteration in the case of the present group is decisively in the direction of a companionate egalitarianism (p. 412).

Spiro (1955) also wrote with respect to the acculturation of ethnic groups in America. The situation of the Indian differs in some important ways from the situation of the various immigrant groups. Yet in terms of making an adjustment to the dominant culture, the Indian has

much in common with such groups of persons. Like them, the Indian too is required to learn a new language and a new way of life if he is to function fully in that society. Spiro cited a study of Mexicans who had migrated to Detroit and said,

> Among the Mexicans of Detroit it was found that those who migrated individually became acculturated more rapidly than those who migrated with families. . . . In all the immigrant groups studied, the father traditionally was the authority figure and the disciplinarian; and in all these groups he has lost much of these characteristics. If, in the normal course of life, parents are the agents of cultural continuity, in acculturation children become the agents of cultural change. It is the children who teach the new culture to their parents (1955, pp. 1246-1247).

A study of marriage role expectations was made in Hamburg, Germany in 1964 (Pfeil, 1968) with a 1941 birth cohort, then age 23. The sample, 122 males and 239 females, whose socialization was influenced by the war and postwar years in Germany, exhibited marriage role expectations leaning away from the traditional authoritarian pattern. Women working in unskilled jobs, or whose husbands were employed at unskilled types of labor, and those having lower levels of educational attainment were the ones who most stressed the dominance and superiority of the male roles in marriage.

Mowrer (1969) with a sample of 1,180 housewives in a Chicago suburb, sought to discover the contemporary pattern of husband-wife roles in typical middle-class families. He concluded that the general pattern was one of fluidity, determined more by the exigencies of the moment than by specific assignment of roles. Conflict in such cases is avoided by the fact that both spouses do not take the same role at the same time.

Regarding the possibility of conflict, Hurvitz (1965) said that when each partner acts in the ways the other expects him to, positive

feelings and a sense of comfort are generated. When a spouse does not behave in the expected way, feelings of discomfort, strain, and rejection are generated.

At Indiana University, 674 students were enlisted by Motz (1952) to assist in developing a marital role conception inventory. Her preliminary investigations revealed that some men and women had very traditional husband-wife definitions, while others had companionate concepts. The students' concepts of how a husband and wife should relate to each other were thought of as applying to all married persons in general. Motz found that the six areas where marital role concepts came most meaningfully into action were housework, employment, financial support, care of children, participation in community activities, and schooling.

The effect of family size upon marital roles was studied by Campbell (1970) with a sample of 1,242 women in Detroit who had zero, one, two, or four children. Family decision making and task performance were measured by 13 items on his questionnaire. The supposition that as family size increases the husband's authority increases was not borne out by this study. Rather, increased family size led toward husbands becoming more involved in child-oriented decisions, while wives became more involved in social decisions. All factors examined showed low levels of magnitude indicating that variation in role performance due to increased family size was not significant. The personal orientation and expectation of the parents seemed to be the important factor.

A Family Responsibility Inventory was developed by Geiken (1964) and used to discover sharing of tasks by married couples and expectations

of sharing by unmarried high school boys and girls. It was revealed in this study that the most frequently shared responsibilities by the married couples were in the area of authority patterns. Child-care tasks were the second most shared, and housekeeping tasks the least shared. The responses of the high school portion of the sample agreed with the married respondents in the expectations they registered.

Dunn (1959) developed a Marriage Role Expectation Inventory and used that instrument to investigate conceptions of marital roles held by 436 high school seniors in northern Louisiana. Her data revealed that a majority of the youths held equalitarian rather than traditional marriage role expectations. Boys more frequently than girls held traditional concepts about family authority, care of children, personal characteristics, and financial support and employment. Girls rated more traditional than boys with regard to homemaking.

Dunn's Marriage Role Expectation Inventory was used by Moser (1961) in a study of 354 high school seniors in southwestern Florida. Here as in Dunn's study, the boys were found to be more traditional than the girls in the area of authority. Boys in Moser's study rated less traditional than the girls in financial support and employment. Moser's study pointed out that in spite of a basic general agreement, disagreement in certain specific areas was quite evident.

The Dunn Inventory was also used by Roehl (1962) with a group of 333 Roman Catholic high school seniors in Iowa. Educational aspiration was the only variable found to have a significant relationship to marriage role expectations.

In a study of 200 college students at Brigham Young University in Utah, Barber (1963) made use of the Dunn instrument. Here it was

found that 99 per cent of both males and females held equalitarian marriage role expectations. The other one per cent rated as traditional; none had an intermediate rating.

Reilly (1963) used the Dunn Inventory at Florida State University to evaluate the marriage role expectations of 98 freshmen and 79 sophomore students. Testing the effect of a functional marriage course on the students' marriage role expectations, it was found that there was a significant change from authoritarian attitudes toward more equalitarian attitudes. In this case, however, the changes were registered primarily by the female students. The male students' experimental and control data revealed no significant change in their attitudes.

A research by Rogers (1964) at the Ohio State University was similar to the Reilly study in purpose. The Dunn Inventory was used to measure changes in marriage role expectations resulting from a functional marriage course. The 317 students in this sample presented a trend of shifting from traditional toward more equalitarian attitudes. However, the direction of change was the reverse of that found by Reilly. In the Rogers sample it was the males whose attitudes changed; female attitude changes were found to be statistically insignificant.

A slightly modified form of the Dunn instrument was used by Walker (1964) at the Florida State University. With 82 undergraduate students as respondents, the relationship between religiousness and marriage role expectations was examined. Although males were found to be more traditional than females to a significant degree in expectations, the variable of religiosity was not found to be significant.

Gould (1961) modified the Dunn Inventory in measuring the marriage role expectations of 370 unmarried students at the California

State Polytechnic College. Female respondents were found to be significantly more equalitarian than males, but a majority of both sexes rated as equalitarian or intermediate rather than traditional. Variables such as age, premarital status, place of residence, social class, religious affiliation, year in college, and occupational objectives revealed no significant differences.

The Gould revision of Dunn's Inventory was used by Hanley (1967) in a study of familistic attitudes and marriage role expectations of 748 undergraduate college students. The students were from 12 colleges and universities in four geographic regions of the United States. Marriage role expectations were found to be significantly related to geographic region, employment status of the mother, and family authority pattern. Hanley concluded that his data were indicative of a definite movement toward more equalitarian conceptions of marriage roles.

Sterrett and Bollman (1970) used the Dunn instrument in a study of 100 senior boys and 100 senior girls from a midwest high school, testing the relationship of marriage role expectations and such variables as mother's employment, family social status, sex and age of respondent, family structure and birth order, grade average, and number of siblings. Significant differences were found to exist in three areas: family social status, age of the respondent, and grade average. Equalitarian ratings on the Inventory were related to higher social class, younger age of the respondent, and higher academic achievement of the respondent in his school work.

The review of the literature has revealed a substantial volume of material dealing with the general topics of familistic attitudes

and marriage role expectations. At the same time, it has revealed that writings relating these two topics to the American Indian are virtually non-existent. Therefore, in addition to bringing together what is currently known about familistic attitudes and marriage role expectations of adolescents, the review of literature has also served to confirm the need for a study of these topics with Indian subjects.

CHAPTER III

PROCEDURE

Selection of Sample

The data were collected in December 1970 and January 1971 from a sample of 285 Indian and white adolescents in their junior and senior year of high school in 8 Montana towns (see Figure 1). The 150 white students were from Big Timber and Columbus, and the 135 Indian students were from Ashland, Dixon, Harlem, Lodge Grass, Poplar, and St. Ignatius. In Big Timber and Columbus all members of the junior and senior classes were white; therefore, all were included in the sample. In the six towns from which the Indian students came, only those juniors and seniors who were Indian were included in the sample.

With the exception of Ashland, Indian students comprised less than half the membership of their respective classes, even though all six communities are situated within the boundaries of an Indian reservation. Harlem is technically an exception to this, since the northwest corner of the Fort Belknap Indian Reservation is about 2 miles east of town. It is, however, the only town serving the reservation area, and is unquestionably the Indian center of northcentral Montana.

Description of Communities

Columbus, in southcentral Montana, is the county seat of Stillwater County and has a population of 1,173 (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1970). The economy of the area is purely agricultural, with beef cattle, hay, and small grains being the principal products. Some irrigated farmlands lie along the valley of the Yellowstone River which

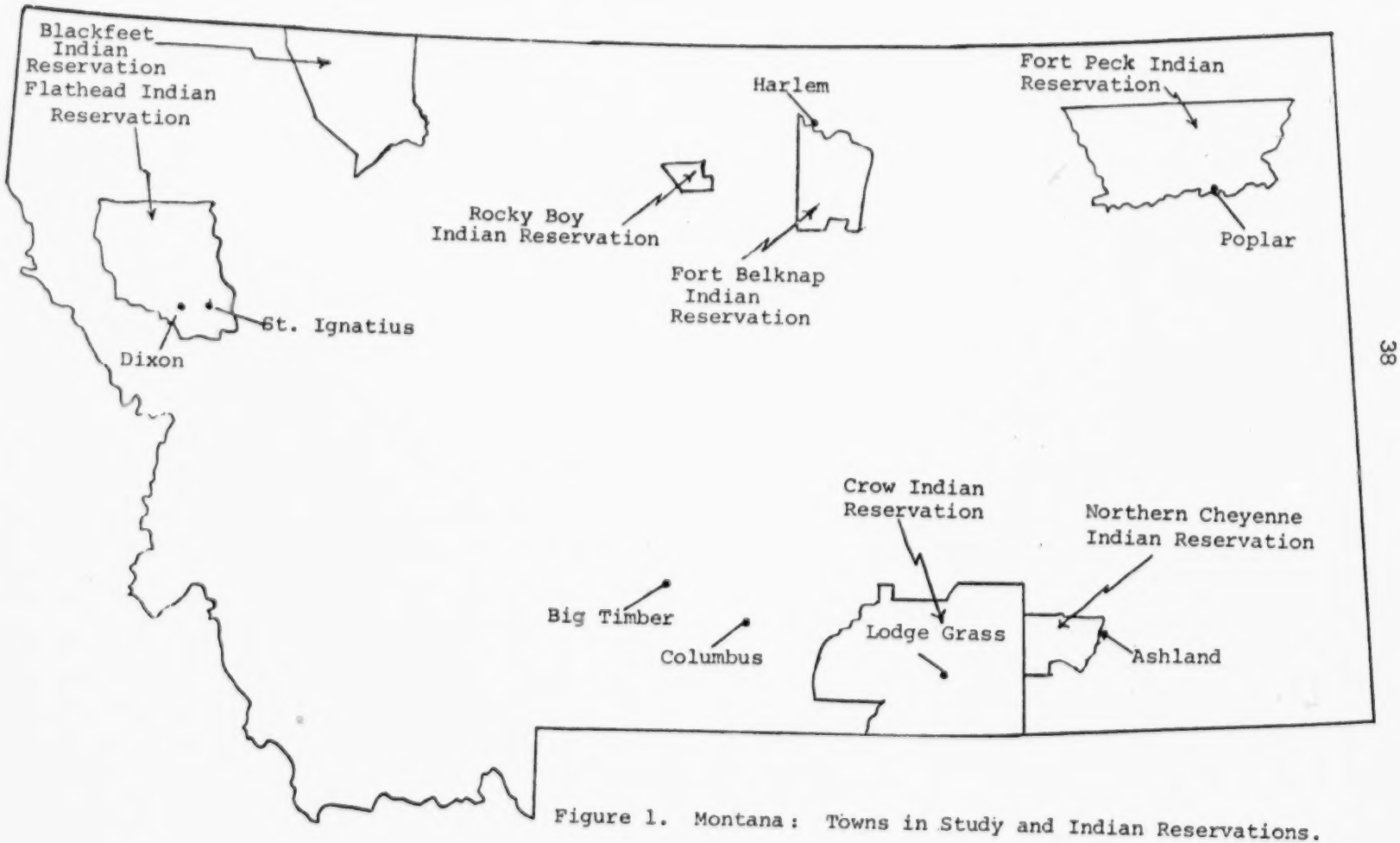

Figure 1. Montana: Towns in Study and Indian Reservations.

passes by just beyond the southern boundary of the town, but most of the land in the surrounding area is dryland used chiefly for the grazing of cattle.

Columbus' school population is divided quite equally between those who live in the town and those who are bussed into town from the outlying farms and ranches. An attractive and modern addition to the high school has recently been put into use and the older portion of the plant was remodeled. Homes in the town are neatly kept, by outward appearances, and are middle-class in character with very few exceptions toward either extreme affluence or poverty.

Big Timber is slightly larger than Columbus, but very similar to it in most respects. The county seat of Sweet Grass County, Big Timber has 1,592 inhabitants (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1970). It is also situated on the Yellowstone River, 40 miles west of Columbus. The valley is rather narrow, requiring that most of the farmland in the area be managed on a dryland basis. Beef cattle, hay, and small grains are the chief sources of income for the ranchers and farmers, and the town exists primarily as a service center for the agricultural industry.

The high school in Big Timber is quite old and inadequate by current standards. The economy of the area does not differ from that of the general region, in which most other communities have new or remodeled school facilities. Like Columbus, in the town itself the homes appear to be standard middle-class in character, with only a very few residences seeming to be somewhat above or below the average in size or quality.

Lodge Grass, located near the southwestern corner of the Crow Indian Reservation, has a population of only 806 (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1970). Approximately half the population of the school, town,

and surrounding region are Crow Indians. In the town itself a majority of the homes appear to be of medium quality, but a substantial minority are decidedly substandard. With rare exceptions, these are the homes of the Indians. The school plant in Lodge Grass is apparently fairly adequate in terms of size, but is very old, unattractive, and lacking in many modern features.

Lodge Grass lies in the Little Big Horn valley, 15 miles south of the Custer Battlefield National Monument. It is a fertile and prosperous farming region, but the land is worked almost entirely by white men. Only 18 per cent of the land on the Crow Indian Reservation is operated by Indians (Thompson, 1970), so the Indians do not fully share in the benefits of their land. The agriculture of the area produces sugar beets, beans, hay, small grains, cattle, and other livestock.

Ashland is located 62 miles east of the Custer Battlefield on the eastern border of the Northern Cheyenne Indian Reservation. It is the site of the St. Labre Indian School, a Roman Catholic mission project. St. Labre is a boarding school for children from kindergarten through high school. Many children come there from considerable distances and board there through the week, returning to their homes on weekends. Ashland itself has no more than about 100 inhabitants, but the total school population is over 300, and is nearly 100 per cent Indian. St. Labre Indian School is large and very beautiful, with much new construction going on at this time.

The countryside around Ashland is quite mountainous, and lumbering is a major means of employment. The Northern Cheyenne operate nearly all their own land, principally through selling their timber stumpage to

logging contractors. Relatively little land on the reservation is open and level enough to be under cultivation.

Dixon is some 35 miles north of Missoula in northwestern Montana and more than 500 miles northwest of Ashland and Lodge Grass. Located near the southern end of the Flathead Indian Reservation, Dixon is nearly a ghost town having at most perhaps 50 inhabitants. Nearly all the students in the elementary and high schools are bussed in from surrounding farms and from the Indian Agency headquarters nearby. The lower Flathead valley is an area of mixed irrigated and dryland producing cattle, hay, and grain. As with the Crow, very few Indians are engaged in farming; they mostly rent their farmlands to the white man for a share of the crop or an annual cash sum. Dixon's school buildings are old and inadequate by any standards, but apparently the economy of the area does not permit new construction.

St. Ignatius is only about 12 miles east of Dixon, and is also on the Flathead Indian Reservation. Its population is 925 (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1970). Although it is on the reservation no more than one-third of the school's students are Indian. The surrounding land is very fertile and mostly under irrigation. Fine crops of hay and grain are produced, and there is a good mixture of dairy and beef cattle as sources of income. However, it is a rarity to find an Indian operating a farm himself.

While a majority of the homes in St. Ignatius reflect the normal middle-class characteristics, there are a great many homes, particularly in the southern portion of the town, which are far below the average in size and quality. These are the homes of the Indians. The school buildings are new and modern, attractive and adequate.

Harlem has a population of 1,094 (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1970) and is located 150 miles northeast of Great Falls, on the northwest point of the Fort Belknap Indian Reservation. The Gros Ventre, Sioux, and Assiniboin are the principal tribes represented in this community just 40 miles below the Canadian border. Indians comprise less than half the school population. The school plant is neither new nor ancient, and is adequate for present needs.

The valley of the Milk River is utilized as irrigated farmland on which sugar beets, hay, and grain are produced. But the valley is rather narrow and the vast bulk of acreage is dryland on which spring and winter wheat are grown.

Harlem, like the dozens of other small towns dotting the Montana prairies, exists mainly as a service center for the farms which surround it, and has no basic industry of its own. The Fort Belknap Indian Agency headquarters is about 2 miles east of the town, and provides a welcome economic asset to the community.

Poplar lies in the northeast corner of Montana, about 70 miles south of the Canadian border and 55 miles west of the North Dakota border. A town of 1,389 (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1970), Poplar is the headquarters location of the Fort Peck Indian Reservation on which people chiefly of the Sioux and Assiniboin tribes reside. The Missouri River flows just south of the town but affords little irrigation for the land, most of which is operated as dryland spring and winter wheat farms.

The school plant at Poplar is new, modern, and very pleasant. Indian students comprise less than half the school population. The town itself has a central core of comfortable and average middle-class

homes, with only a few seeming markedly better than the rest. Around this central core, however, is an outer fringe of grossly inferior dwellings, occupied by Indians. Many of the Indians do not live in town, but on farms in all directions from the town.

In Poplar as in other Indian communities, it is common to find Indians living on a farm but not operating the farm. Often they rent the land to a white neighbor for a cash sum or one-third of the crop, but retain the use of the farm home for themselves. Most often these farm homes are very inferior and provide far less than adequate protection against the severe winter weather of that far northern region on the windswept plains. Some Indians in the Poplar area have realized small sums from the leasing of mineral rights on their land for oil exploration. In a very few cases, some Indians have come into relative wealth through the discovery of oil on their property.

Administration of Instruments

In all eight of the high schools the administrators of the schools were personally contacted by the investigator, and permission was secured to administer the test instruments to the junior and senior classes. The first three schools in which the testing was done were Big Timber, Columbus, and Lodge Grass, with the investigator personally administering the instruments. In each of these instances it was noted that at no time did any student raise a question as to how the forms were to be marked; the instructions printed with the forms were adequately self-explanatory. For this reason, the forms were administered in the other schools by the principal, or the guidance counselor, who had been given sufficient directions by the investigator.

This procedure enabled the schools to administer the instruments without disruption of the students' class schedules. It appears to have been a successful method; all forms were found to be properly completed, with no distinguishable difference between those instruments administered by the investigator and those administered by the schools themselves.

Instruments

A Personal Data Questionnaire, the Familism Scale developed by Bardis (1959c), and the Marriage Role Expectation Inventory developed by Dunn (1959) were the instruments utilized in this investigation. Each is described below, and complete copies of each are included in the Appendix.

Personal Data Questionnaire

This questionnaire form was devised by the investigator for the purpose of gathering information from the respondents with regard to grade, age, sex, degree of Indian blood, tribal affiliation, place of residence, academic achievement, future educational plans, parents' marital status, number of siblings, and language spoken in the home.

Familism Scale

Bardis (1959c) constructed a Familism Scale, which was the instrument used in the present study for measuring the students' familistic attitudes. To devise the instrument, Bardis pretested 150 familistic statements with a population of some 600 Michigan college students. Discriminatory value was found in only 13 of the items. Bardis then presented these 13 items to 10 widely known authors of books dealing

with family sociology, asking them to suggest additions, deletions, and modifications. This resulted in some of the original 13 items being slightly modified and 4 new ones being added. The 17 items were then administered to a group of 100 Michigan college men and women. Internal consistency was measured by comparing the ten highest scores with the ten lowest scores. One item was excluded on this basis, leaving 16 items in the final form of the Familism Scale. Ten of the items relate to nuclear family integration and six relate to the extended family.

The validity of the Familism Scale was tested by making comparisons of mean familism scores of three different groups. In each case the difference between the means was found to be significant beyond the .01 level. In southern Greece, 37 male and female students living in a familistic community were compared with 37 male and female high school students in an industrial city in Michigan. The Greek students' mean familism score was 46.95 and the Michigan students' mean score was 30.56. In the second instance the same Greek student sample was compared to 36 Methodist students from a Michigan college whose mean familism scores were compared to those of 30 Mennonite students attending a midwestern Mennonite college. The Methodist mean of 22.23 as against the Mennonite mean of 31.47 was found to be significant beyond the .01 level.

Reliability of the Familism Scale was also tested in several ways. A .90 reliability coefficient was found on a 30-day pre-test procedure with a sample of 37 Michigan college students. The responses of 38 Greek male and female subjects were examined by the odd-even comparison

technique, yielding a corrected Spearman-Brown coefficient of reliability of .77. The same procedure with a sample of 37 Michigan college students produced a corrected coefficient of .84. A split-half test among 34 other Michigan college men and women resulted in a raw coefficient of .68 and a corrected coefficient of .81.

Marriage Role Expectation Inventory

Marriage role expectation data were obtained through the use of the Dunn (1959) Marriage Role Expectation Inventory. This instrument was devised by Dunn for the purpose of measuring the marriage role expectations of late adolescents in high school. Originally a pool of some 300 items was created by collecting responses of 232 high school seniors on their conceptions of what the "good" husband and the "good" wife does. Items were grouped in the areas of authority patterns, home-making, care of children, personality characteristics, social participation, education, and financial support and employment.

After editing, 176 items were retained and were presented to judges selected on the basis of their professional status and experience in marriage role interpretation. The judges accepted 128 of the items. Dunn then compiled a list of 111 of these items, including approximately equal numbers of items expressing traditional and equalitarian concepts. She also took care to include approximately equal numbers of items dealing with the husband's and wife's roles, and had from seven to ten items relating to each of the role areas listed above.

An item analysis done on 186 completed tests resulted in the rejection of 40 items as being non-discriminatory between traditional and equalitarian attitudes, leaving 71 items in the final inventory

form. In Form M the 71 statements are so worded as to apply to males; in Form F the 71 statements are so worded as to apply to females.

The validity of the Marriage Role Expectation Inventory is based upon the care with which Dunn compiled the 71 items in the instrument. Each item was studied by judges of recognized professional competence and was determined by them to be stated in such a way as to elicit an accurate reflection of the subject's attitude. The care that was taken to keep the instrument in balance in terms of numbers of items relating to traditional and equalitarian concepts, and in maintaining approximately equal emphasis on each of the seven roles areas further assures the instrument's validity.

Reliability of the Marriage Role Expectation Inventory was derived by the split-half comparison technique on scores of 50 respondents. The correlation coefficient of .95 was elevated to .97 when corrected by the Spearman-Brown formula, indicating a highly substantial level of reliability.

Scoring

The Familism Scale was scored on a Likert basis with each of the 16 items having a possible score of 0 to 4 as follows:

Strongly Disagree = 0
Disagree = 1
Undecided = 2
Agree = 3
Strongly Agree = 4

This is the same scoring procedure used by Bardis in his original applications of the instrument.

The theoretical range of total scores for the test thus is 0 to 64. Lower scores indicate lower degrees of familistic attitude and

are suggestive of a more individualistic, equalitarian orientation. Higher scores, reflecting higher degrees of familistic attitudes, are indicative of more authoritarian, traditional orientation.

The Marriage Role Expectation Inventory was scored on the same five-point Likert scale as the Familism Scale; the same procedure Dunn used in her original work with the Inventory. The responses were weighted as follows:

Agree or Strongly Agree (Equalitarian Items)	= -1
Agree or Strongly Agree (Traditional Items)	= +1
Uncertain, Disagree or Strongly Disagree (Any Item)	= 0

Since the Inventory contains 34 equalitarian items and 37 traditional items, the theoretical range of scores was from -34 to +37. Lower scores represent more equalitarian marriage role expectations and higher scores represent more traditional expectations.

In the original instrument Dunn assigned a plus value to the equalitarian items and a minus value to the traditional items. They were reversed in the present investigation so that comparison of Marriage Role Expectation scores with Familism Scale scores would be more forthright. By assigning a minus value to equalitarian items and a plus value to traditional items, the scoring on both instruments was such that more equalitarian responses produced lower total scores on either scale, while more traditional responses produced higher total scores.

Analysis of Data

Data derived from the Personal Data Questionnaire, the Familism Scale, and the Marriage Role Expectation Inventory were coded and transferred to electronic data processing equipment at the Montana State University Computing Center.

For the first hypothesis each of the respondent groups' familism and marriage role expectation scores were compared by means of the Pearson product-moment coefficient of correlation. Hypotheses two through seven were tested by the analysis of variance procedure, with the F test applied to determine significance. When significant values of F were found to exist on tests of variables having three or more levels of response, the Duncan Multiple Range Test was used for identifying the level which was the source of the variance.

The .05 level of significance was used throughout as the criterion for acceptance or rejection of the hypotheses.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Description of Subjects

Participating in the study were 135 Indian juniors and seniors in high school from Ashland, Dixon, Harlem, Lodge Grass, Poplar, and St. Ignatius, Montana, and 150 white juniors and seniors from Big Timber and Columbus, Montana. Table 1 provides descriptive information of the sample, with the categories of variables derived from the Personal Data Questionnaire which each participant completed.

Slightly over half of the sample was white, male, and in the junior year of school. A larger proportion of white adolescents (38.0%) than Indian adolescents (25.2%) were in the youngest age group. The proportion of students in the middle age group, however, was approximately equal (62.2% of Indians, 60.0% of whites). Regarding place of residence, 57 per cent of the Indian students lived out of town, and 56 per cent of the white students lived in town.

In academic achievement the largest group of Indian students were in the lowest level (57.8%), with only 11 students (8.1%) being in the highest grade group. In the white portion of the sample almost half (45.3%) were in the middle group, with approximately equal numbers (28.0% and 26.7%) being in the top and bottom rankings.

It is apparent from the table that Indian students' future educational plans are not well related to their academic achievement in high school. Well over half (60.7%) indicate they plan to go on to college after completing high school. However, on the academic achievement variable it was found that 57.8 per cent were in the lowest grade

TABLE 1

DESCRIPTION OF SUBJECTS
(Indian N = 135; White N = 150)
(Percentages shown as per cent of each portion of sample)

Variable	Classification	Indian		White	
		No.	%	No.	%
Grade	Junior	74	54.8	82	54.7
	Senior	61	45.2	68	45.3
Age	16 or less	34	25.2	57	38.0
	17 or 18	84	62.2	90	60.0
	19 or older	17	12.6	3	2.0
Sex	Male	71	52.6	78	52.0
	Female	64	47.4	72	48.0
Race	Indian	135	100.0	--	--
	White	--	--	150	100.0
Tribal Affiliation	Crow	26	19.3	--	--
	Northern Cheyenne	17	12.6	--	--
	Flathead	14	10.3	--	--
	Sioux	21	15.6	--	--
	Assiniboin	17	12.6	--	--
	Other Tribes	40	29.6	--	--
Place of Residence	In town	58	43.0	84	56.0
	Out of town	77	57.0	66	44.0
Academic Achievement	Mostly A's & B's	11	8.1	42	28.0
	Mostly B's & C's	46	34.1	68	45.3
	Most C's or lower	78	57.8	40	26.7
Future Educational Plans	College	82	60.7	87	58.0
	Trade school	43	31.9	47	31.3
	None	10	7.4	16	10.7
Parents' Marital Status	Neither divorced	78	57.8	125	83.3
	One divorced	37	27.4	15	10.0
	Both divorced	20	14.8	10	6.7
Language spoken in the Home	Only English	88	65.2	143	95.3
	Some Non-English	32	23.7	7	4.7
	Mostly Non-English	15	11.1	--	--

grouping, making it appear that many of those who plan to go to college are not earning the kind of grades commonly required for success in higher education. Among the white youths in the sample future educational plans seem to bear a more realistic relationship to their academic achievement.

Table 1 shows that there is a marked difference between Indian and white adolescents in terms of their parents' marital status. In only 16.7 per cent of the white cases were one or both of the parents previously married and divorced; in the Indian portion of the sample 42.2 per cent of the students had one or both parents with a previous marriage.

From the table it is evident that the language spoken in the home is a potentially significant factor. Over one-third (34.8%) of the Indian students spoke a non-English language at home some of the time (23.7%) or most of the time (11.1%). Among white students there were none in whose home a non-English language was spoken most of the time and only seven cases (4.7%) where another tongue was spoken some of the time.

Tribal affiliation is self-explanatory with the exception of the "Other Tribes" category. In this grouping of 40 youths were representatives of a number of different tribes, but with too few of any one tribe to place them into a separate classification. Each reservation, in addition to having one main tribal group, always seems to have a few members of other tribes. Included among the "Other Tribes" group were youths claming relationship to the Shoshoni, Kootenai-Salish, Chippewa-Cree, Gros Ventre, and Arapaho tribes.

Examination of Hypotheses and Discussion of Results

Seven hypotheses were examined in the study. They represented three general avenues of inquiry: (a) correlation of the scores of each respondent group on the two attitude scales; (b) testing of certain variables for significance of influence on the Familism Scale; and (c) testing of certain variables for significance of influence on the Marriage Role Expectation Inventory. Hypothesis 1 dealt with the correlation of the two test scores; hypotheses 2, 3, and 6 tested the influence of certain variables on the Familism Scale; hypotheses 4, 5, and 7 tested the influence of certain variables on the Marriage Role Expectation Inventory.

Scores on the Familism Scale ranged from 10 to 50 (theoretical limits, 0 to 64); scores on the Marriage Role Expectation Inventory ranged from -31 to +10 (theoretical range, -34 to +37). On the Familism Scale higher scores indicate more traditional authoritarian attitudes, while lower scores reveal more individualistic, less familistic attitudes. The highest score (50) represents a very highly familistic attitude; the lowest score (10) is indicative of a highly individualistic attitude. High marriage role expectation scores similarly reveal more traditional viewpoints. The highest score (+10) suggests a strong attitude toward authoritarianism and role differentiation, while the lowest score (-31) gives evidence of an intensely equalitarian attitude toward marriage roles.

Table 2 shows the means of scores on both of these scales for Indian adolescents and for white adolescents for each of the variables and classifications tested.

TABLE 2

MEANS OF SCORES ON FAMILISM SCALE AND
MARRIAGE ROLE EXPECTATION INVENTORY
(Indian N = 135; White N = 150)

Variable	Classification	Indian		White	
		FAM	MRE	FAM	MRE
Grade	Junior	35.3	-12.3	27.6	-16.0
	Senior	34.0	-13.6	26.6	-16.7
Age	16 or younger	34.5	-14.4	28.2	-16.8
	17 or 18	34.6	-13.4	26.6	-16.0
	19 or older	35.7	- 7.2	23.0	-16.3
Sex	Male	35.4	-11.6	27.2	-15.4
	Female	33.9	-14.3	27.1	-17.3
Race	Indian	34.7	-12.9	--	--
	White	--	--	27.1	-16.3
Tribal affiliation	Crow	41.9	-11.9	--	--
	Northern Cheyenne	33.7	- 9.9	--	--
	Flathead	43.0	-10.9	--	--
	Sioux	33.7	-14.0	--	--
	Assiniboin	34.4	-18.8	--	--
	Other Tribes	31.9	-12.4	--	--
Place of residence	In town	32.6	-14.0	26.3	-16.3
	Out of town	36.3	-12.0	28.3	-16.3
Academic Achievement	Mostly A's & B's	31.4	-18.8	26.1	-20.4
	Mostly B's & C's	35.0	-12.2	27.2	-15.6
	Mostly C's or lower	34.9	-12.4	28.0	-13.2
Future Educational Plans	College	35.8	-13.2	27.0	-16.4
	Trade school	33.8	-13.6	27.3	-14.8
	None	29.7	- 7.6	27.7	-12.5
Parents' Marital Status	Neither divorced	34.8	-13.0	27.0	-16.4
	One divorced	34.2	-12.6	27.7	-14.3
	Both divorced	34.9	-13.1	27.5	-18.1
Language Spoken in the Home	Only English	32.3	-13.0	27.2	-16.6
	Some Non-English	37.1	-13.4	26.0	-11.4
	Mostly Non-English	43.4	-11.1	--	--

It should be noted from Table 2 that all Marriage Role Expectation Inventory mean scores were in the negative, even though the upper limit was +37. This indicates that in spite of the significant differences which were found in examining the seven hypotheses, the general leaning of scores was in the direction of equalitarian conceptions of marriage roles. On both the familistic attitude and marriage role scales the white subjects registered somewhat more equalitarian mean scores than did the Indian subjects. The overall mean familism score for white youths was 27.1 compared to 34.7 for Indian youths; the mean marriage role expectation score for white youths was -16.3 compared to -12.9 for Indian youths.

Table 3 shows the distribution of scores on the Familism Scale for the students in this sample.

TABLE 3

DISTRIBUTION OF SCORES--FAMILISM SCALE

Score	White Adolescents		Indian Adolescents	
	N	%	N	%
48 - 50	--	--	5	3.70
45 - 47	--	--	7	5.19
42 - 44	--	--	21	15.55
39 - 41	4	2.66	8	5.93
36 - 38	16	10.67	21	15.55
33 - 35	13	8.67	26	19.26
30 - 32	23	15.33	14	10.38
27 - 29	29	19.33	15	11.12
24 - 26	19	12.67	4	2.96
21 - 23	22	14.67	6	4.44
18 - 20	8	5.33	3	2.22
15 - 17	10	6.67	5	3.70
12 - 14	5	3.33	--	--
9 - 11	1	.67	--	--
Total	150	100.00	135	100.00
Mean	27.1		34.7	
Median	28		34	

It can be observed from Table 3 that 33 Indian students (24.4%) scored 42 and above, while none of the white students' scores were in that high portion of the total range. On the other hand, scores of 20 or lower were received by 16 per cent of the white students, as compared to only 5.92 per cent of the Indian students. It is quite apparent that the familism scores of the Indian adolescents tended more toward the high end of the scale than did the scores of the white adolescents.

In Table 4 is shown the distribution of scores received on the Marriage Role Expectation Inventory.

TABLE 4

DISTRIBUTION OF SCORES--MARRIAGE ROLE EXPECTATION INVENTORY

Score	White Adolescents		Indian Adolescents	
	N	%	N	%
9 - 11	--	--	2	1.48
6 - 8	--	--	1	.74
3 - 5	1	.67	1	.74
0 - 2	4	2.66	3	2.22
- 1 - - 3	2	1.33	7	5.19
- 4 - - 6	5	3.33	12	8.89
- 7 - - 9	10	6.67	16	11.85
-10 - -12	16	10.67	23	17.04
-13 - -15	22	14.67	22	16.30
-19 - -21	21	14.00	14	10.37
-22 - -24	23	15.33	12	8.89
-25 - -27	12	8.00	4	2.96
-28 - -30	2	1.33	2	1.48
-31 - -33	1	.67	--	--
Total	150		135	
Mean		-16.3		-12.9
Median		-17		-14

Hypothesis 1. There is a significant positive relationship between Familism Scale scores and Marriage Role Expectation Inventory scores for

a. Indian and White Adolescents
b. Indian Adolescents
c. White Adolescents
d. Crow Indian Adolescents
e. Northern Cheyenne Indian Adolescents
f. Flathead Indian Adolescents
g. Sioux Indian Adolescents
h. Assiniboin Indian Adolescents
i. Other Indian Adolescents

The Pearson product-moment coefficient of correlation was used to test the strength of relationship of the two sets of scores for each of the groups of adolescents. As the hypothesis indicates, it was anticipated that in most cases there would be a relationship between the scores on the two scales--that a tendency to score high or low on one scale would be accompanied by a similar tendency on the other scale. This hypothesis was supported to only a very limited degree by the data in this study. Only one of the nine comparisons, that of the total sample, was found to be significant. Table 5 shows the test results.

TABLE 5

CORRELATIONS OF SCORES ON THE FAMILISM SCALE AND MARRIAGE ROLE EXPECTATION INVENTORY

Sample portion	N	Correlation Coefficient	Level of Significance
Total Sample	285	.18	.01
All Indians	135	.10	n.s.
All Whites	150	.07	n.s.
Crow Indians	26	.13	n.s.
Northern Cheyenne Indians	17	.25	n.s.
Flathead Indians	14	.14	n.s.
Sioux Indians	21	-.09	n.s.
Assiniboin Indians	17	.27	n.s.
Other Indians	40	.06	n.s.

In the case of the total sample the hypothesis was supported; there was a distinct tendency for a student who scored high on one scale to also score high on the other scale, or for a low score on one to be accompanied by a low score on the other. Although in two instances (the Northern Cheyenne and Assiniboin) there were larger correlation coefficients, they were not found to be significant. This is due mainly to the fact that the groups were small. The significant correlation for the total sample is possibly attributable to the relatively large number, since none of the individual subclasses had significant correlations.

It is interesting that the Sioux Indian adolescents' scores reveal a tendency toward a negative correlation. Though it did not reach a significant level, there is the suggestion of a trend for the score on one scale to increase as the score on the other scale diminishes.

With eight of the nine correlations failing to show significance, only Hypothesis 1a was held tenable. Parts b, c, d, e, f, g, h, and i were rejected. There is a significant positive correlation of scores on the two scales for the sample as a whole, but not for any of the individual subclasses.

Hypothesis 2. There is a significant difference in the Familism Scale scores of Indian and White Adolescents on the basis of

a. Tribal Affiliation and Sex
b. Tribal Affiliation and Grade in School
c. Tribal Affiliation and Parents' Marital Status
d. Tribal Affiliation and Place of Residence

This hypothesis and all the remaining hypotheses were tested by analysis of variance. In each case an F value was computed, and when an F was found to be significant that particular subclass was then tested by the Duncan Multiple Range Test (Duncan, 1955). The F test is powerful and extremely useful in determining the significance of variances. However, when there are more than two levels in a given subclass, F does not reveal which of the levels is the source of the variation.

The Duncan Multiple Range Test is suited for this function. It is usable when subclasses are unequal, and yields a comparison of each mean in a set to every other mean in the set. Means are ranked so that in addition to providing knowledge of which means in a group have significant variances, the relative power of each mean is made evident. Essentially the Duncan test makes use of the error (within) mean squares divided by the average number of cases in each level or subset. The square root of that quotient is extracted and multiplied by the table statistic for the desired level of significance.

With the Duncan test applied following the discovery of a significant F, it is possible to get much additional information from the subclass set of means. Where there are only two levels in a subset the procedure is of course pointless; the significant F has already shown that the two means differ significantly.

The basic results of the testing of hypothesis 2 are shown in Table 6. Hypothesis 2a, b, c, and d all were sustained by the data derived from the analysis of variance tests.

TABLE 6

AFFECT OF TRIBAL VARIABLES ON THE FAMILISM SCALE SCORE

Variables Compared	Variables Significant	F Value Computed	Level of Significance
Tribal Affiliation and Sex	Tribe	8.48	.001
	Sex	9.39	.01
Tribal Affiliation and Grade	Tribe	9.05	.001
Tribal Affiliation and Parents' Marital Status	Tribe	4.79	.001
Tribal Affiliation and Place of Residence	Tribe	7.07	.001
	Place of Res.	5.28	.05

Tribal affiliation is obviously a highly significant factor since it proved to be significant at the .001 level in all four parts of the hypothesis. A detailed examination of the Duncan test data will show which of the groups within the tribe class produced the variance.

In these tests of tribal affiliation the white youths were included as though they were also a tribe, so that comparisons between white and Indian adolescents' scores would be more direct. Rankings of familism scores are shown in Table 7 for each of the four analyses in this second hypothesis.

For each of the four variables under scrutiny in this hypothesis, it is evident that there is considerable internal consistency. The Crow Indian youths registered the highest familistic attitudes on all four variables; the white youths had the lowest ranking on all four. The remaining groups were also quite consistent in the ranks they

TABLE 7

TRIBAL AFFILIATION FAMILISM RANKINGS
(1 = highest, 7 = lowest)

Rank	Sex	Grade	Parents' Marital Status	Place of Residence
1	Crow	Crow	Crow	Crow
2	Assiniboin	Assiniboin	N. Cheyenne	Assiniboin
3	Sioux	N. Cheyenne	Assiniboin	N. Cheyenne
4	Other Ind.	Sioux	Sioux	Sioux
5	Flathead	Flathead	Flathead	Other Ind.
6	N. Cheyenne	Other Ind.	Other Ind.	Flathead
7	White	White	White	White

attained on each variable. From the table it is evident that the Crow Indian adolescents possess the highest degree of familistic attitudes, with the Assiniboin Indian youths quite definitely second. The white adolescents in each instance were found to have the lowest degree of familistic attitudes.

Possibly the most interesting matter revealed by the Duncan Multiple Range Test is that for each of the four analyses in the hypothesis it was found that there were significant differences between the means of almost every tribal group as compared to every other tribal group. The variance thus was not caused by one group being especially high or especially low on the scale; there were significant variances throughout the subclass. Table 8 shows the significant differences that were found between tribes when tribal affiliation and sex were compared.

Familism Scale means of the Crow, Sioux, Assiniboin, and white adolescents differed significantly from all other group means; the "Other Indians" group differed at the .05 level from the Northern

Cheyenne and Flathead group. The only lack of significance found was between the Northern Cheyenne and Flathead.

TABLE 8

TRIBAL AFFILIATION AND SEX: FAMILISM SCALE
SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES BETWEEN TRIBES

Tribe	Mean	Differs .01 Level from Tribe No.	Differs .05 Level from Tribe No.	Fails to Differ from Tribe No.
1. Crow	41.92	All	None	None
2. N. Cheyenne	30.68	1,4,5,7	6	3
3. Flathead	30.82	1,4,5,7	6	2
4. Sioux	33.80	All	None	None
5. Assiniboin	36.23	All	None	None
6. Other Ind.	31.94	1,2,4,5,7	3	None
7. White	27.13	All	None	None

In the original analysis of variance the test on tribal affiliation and sex revealed that sex was also a significant factor influencing the Familism Scale score. Males' mean score was 35.11; females' mean score was 31.32. On this comparison, males were significantly more familistic than females (.01 level).

Hypothesis 2a was strongly supported. There were significant differences in the Familism Scale scores of Indian and White adolescents on the basis of tribal affiliation and sex. Males in this sample were more familistic than females, and Indians were more familistic than whites. Of the Indians, the Crow Indian youths were the most familistic of all and the Flathead and Northern Cheyenne the least familistic.

Next the hypothesis tested tribal affiliation paired with grade in school to determine the extent to which either or both may affect one's score on the Familism Scale. Grade in school was found not to be

a differentiating variable, but tribal affiliation again was significant at the .001 level. Table 9 shows the significant differences in subclass means as revealed by the Duncan Multiple Range Test.

TABLE 9

TRIBAL AFFILIATION AND GRADE: FAMILISM SCALE
SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES BETWEEN TRIBES

Tribe	Mean	Differs .01 Level from Tribe No.	Differs .05 Level from Tribe No.	Fails to Differ from Tribe No.
1. Crow	42.12	All	None	None
2. N. Cheyenne	33.83	1,3,6,7	None	4,5
3. Flathead	32.36	1,2,5,7	4	6
4. Sioux	33.51	1,3,6,7	None	2,5
5. Assiniboin	34.20	1,3,6,7	None	2,4
6. Other Ind.	31.88	1,2,4,5,7	None	3
7. White	27.09	All	None	None

Tribal affiliation was found significant on all four tests in this hypothesis, but it is not possible to illustrate the significant differences by tribe in just one table. The relationships change somewhat when tribe is compared to different variables due to the method of unweighted means used in the analysis of variance, which was necessitated by the fact of having unequal numbers of cases in the various subclasses.

Only the Crow and white adolescents' mean familism scores differed significantly from all other means. The Northern Cheyenne mean did not differ significantly from that of the Sioux or Assiniboin youths, nor did the Sioux and Assiniboin differ from each other. The Other Indians group did not differ significantly from the Flathead, while the Flathead and Sioux differed at the .05 level of significance.

Here again it is seen that the Crow adolescents were the most familistic and the whites the least familistic. The least familistic Indian tribe was the Other Indians group, followed closely by the Flathead.

Tribal affiliation and parents' marital status were tested in hypothesis 2c to ascertain their affect, if any, on the Familism Scale scores. Parents' marital status was not found to be significant, but tribal affiliation again was highly significant. The results of the Duncan test are displayed in Table 10.

TABLE 10

TRIBAL AFFILIATION AND PARENTS' MARITAL STATUS: FAMILISM SCALE SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES BETWEEN TRIBES

Tribe	Mean	Differs .01 Level from Tribe No.	Differs .05 Level from Tribe No.	Fails to Differ from Tribe No.
1. Crow	40.85	All	None	None
2. N. Cheyenne	38.41	All	None	None
3. Flathead	33.21	1,2,7	None	4,5,6
4. Sioux	33.81	1,2,6,7	None	3,5
5. Assiniboin	34.05	1,2,6,7	None	3,4
6. Other Ind.	31.48	1,2,4,5,7	None	3
7. White	27.42	All	None	None

Crow, Northern Cheyenne, and white adolescents' familism means differed significantly from the means of all other groups. These two Indian groups both registered high familism scores, while the white youths again had the lowest scores. The remaining four groups of Indian students were rather closely grouped in a middle range of scores. Their means differed significantly from the top and bottom groups, but tended mostly not to differ significantly from each other. No

differences were found at the .05 level; either the differences were significant at a higher level or they were not present at all. There was no middle ground evident.

For hypothesis 2d an analysis of variance test was done on tribal affiliation and place of residence, with the result that they were found to be significant at the .001 and .05 levels, respectively. Place of residence being a variable with only two levels (residing in town or out of town), the Duncan test is not applicable. Students living in town, including both white and Indian, had a mean familism score of 31.77, compared to 34.49 for those living out of town. Although the towns in question, even the largest among them, are decidedly small towns, there is a measurable significant difference in scores with those living out of town being consistently more familistic than those who live in town.

Significant differences between tribes when the Duncan test was applied to the tribal affiliation and place of residence data are shown in Table 11.

Only the Crow Indian and white youths, representing the highest and lowest mean familism scores, differed significantly from all other groups. The five remaining groups were all clustered rather closely in the middle range, 31.80 to 33.87. Again there were none who differed at only the .05 level of significance; differences either did not exist, or reached the .01 level.

Hypothesis 2, in summary, was quite solidly supported. Parts a, b, c, and d were all held tenable. The variables of grade in school and parents' marital status did not prove to yield significant differences

TABLE 11

TRIBAL AFFILIATION AND PLACE OF RESIDENCE: FAMILISM SCALE
SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES BETWEEN TRIBES

Tribe	Mean	Differs .01 Level from Tribe No.	Differs .05 Level from Tribe No.	Fails to Differ from Tribe No.
1. Crow	41.05	All	None	None
2. N. Cheyenne	33.58	1,3,6,7	None	4,5
3. Flathead	31.05	1,2,4,5,7	None	6
4. Sioux	33.30	1,3,6,7	None	2,5
5. Assiniboin	33.87	1,3,6,7	None	2,4
6. Other Ind.	31.80	1,2,4,5,7	None	3
7. White	27.25	All	None	None

in influencing one's score on the Familism Scale; but tribe, sex, and place of residence were significant. In each of the four analyses tribal affiliation was significant at the .001 level, indicating that it is a very powerful sociological variable. Not only were there significant differences just between Indian and white youths, but some very marked differences were found to exist between Indian tribes.

Crow Indian adolescents were the most strongly familistic of all groups in each analysis, and white youths the least. Males were more familistic than females, and those who lived in town were less familistic than those who lived out of town. Based on this information one would certainly predict a high familism score for a Crow Indian male who lived out of town, and a low score for a white female living in a town.

Hypothesis 3. There is a significant difference in the Familism Scale scores of Indian and White Adolescents on the basis of

a. Race and Age
b. Race and Sex

c. Race and Academic Achievement
d. Race, Academic Achievement, and Future Educational Plans

For the purpose of this hypothesis all Indians were placed in a single category, making an Indian-White comparison possible and eliminating the tribal factor. Table 12 shows the results of the analysis of variance tests for this hypothesis. The test data failed to reject hypothesis 3a, b, c, or d.

TABLE 12

AFFECT OF RACIAL VARIABLES ON THE FAMILISM SCALE SCORES

Variables Compared	Variables Significant	F Value Computed	Level of Significance
Race and Age	Race	28.63	.001
Race and Sex	Race	73.25	.001
Race and Academic Achievement	Race	36.45	.001
Race, Academic Achievement, and Future Educ. Plans	Race	6.74	.01
	Acad. Ach.	4.95	.01
	Educ. Plans	3.07	.05

In hypothesis 3a, b, and c, race was the only variable found to significantly influence the subjects' Familism Scale scores. Race was also significant in hypothesis 3d, but at the .01 level instead of the .001 level. And in hypothesis 3d the other two variables also were shown to be significant.

On the race and age test, the Indian mean familism score was 34.91 compared to 25.93 for the white adolescents. The race and sex test yielded racial means of 34.64 for Indians and 27.13 for whites, and the race and academic achievement test showed a mean for race of 33.78

for Indians and 27.13 for white youths. Finally, the race, academic achievement, and future educational plans test revealed a racial mean for Indians of 30.73 and a mean of 26.47 for whites. All four tests found the Indian portion of the sample scoring significantly higher in familistic attitudes than did the white portion.

A very different relationship is seen when race, academic achievement, and future educational plans are considered together as shown in Table 13.

TABLE 13

RACE, ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT, AND FUTURE EDUCATIONAL PLANS: FAMILISM SCALE - SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES IN ACADEMIC ACHIEVMENT AND FUTURE EDUCATIONAL PLANS

Variable	Mean	Differs .01 from	Fails to Differ from
Academic Achievement:			
1. Grades mostly A and B	28.11	2,3	None
2. Grades mostly B and C	29.42	1,3	None
3. Grades mostly C or lower	31.26	1,2	None
Future Educational Plans:			
1. Go to college	30.91	2,3	None
2. Go to trade school	28.93	1,3	None
3. No further education	25.96	1,2	None

For both variables, all means differed significantly from all other means. Obviously, it makes a real difference in one's familistic attitudes if he does well or poorly in school, or if he has high, medium, or low future educational aspirations. The differences observed in academic achievement means for the three levels are what one might expect; familistic attitudes become somewhat less strong as academic

achievement rises. But the differences found on the Duncan test of future educational plans are the reverse of what one would expect to find. Higher mean familism scores were found to go along with higher educational plans; the lowest familism mean was for that group who had no plans for further education.

If familism is considered as a measure of individuality when a low score is registered, or as a tendency to identify oneself in terms of the family group in the case of a high score, it could be inferred from these data that high academic achievement and not planning to go to college or trade school are both indications of an expression of individuality.

Hypothesis 3 was fully supported; significant differences were found in each of the four analyses. Sex, age, and academic achievement, when considered singly with race, were not significant as influences on the familism score. However, when race, academic achievement, and future educational plans were included together, all three achieved a level of significance.

Hypothesis 4. There is a significant difference in the Marriage Role Expectation Inventory scores of Indian and White Adolescents on the basis of

a. Tribal Affiliation and Sex
b. Tribal Affiliation and Grade in School
c. Tribal Affiliation and Parents' Marital Status
d. Tribal Affiliation and Place of Residence

This hypothesis repeated the process of the second hypothesis, but used the Marriage Role Expectation Inventory as the basis for comparison instead of the Familism Scale. White youths again were included as though they were a tribe, to allow for comparisons of white and Indian scores as well as comparisons between tribes of Indians.

Hypothesis 4a, b c, and d were all held tenable by the analysis of variance test results.

Tribal affiliation rankings in marriage role expectation mean scores are shown below in Table 14. There are some striking differences between this table and the Tribal Affiliation Familism Rankings in Table 5 (p. 57). In that table, the Crow Indian adolescents had sole possession of the highest rank, with Assiniboin youths second, and the white youths in last place, with the lowest degree of familistic attitudes.

TABLE 14

TRIBAL AFFILIATION MARRIAGE ROLE EXPECTATION RANKINGS
(1 = highest, 7 = lowest)

Rank	Sex	Grade	Parents' Marital Status	Place of Residence
1	Flathead	N. Cheyenne	N. Cheyenne	Crow
2	Crow	Flathead	Flathead	N. Cheyenne
3	Other Ind.	Crow	Crow	Sioux
4	N. Cheyenne	Other Ind.	Other Ind.	Flathead
5	Sioux	Sioux	Sioux	Other Ind.
6	White	White	White	White
7	Assiniboin	Assiniboin	Assiniboin	Assiniboin

In the Marriage Role Expectation Inventory, the lower scores are related to more equalitarian, less authoritarian attitudes. Table 14 shows that in every category the Assiniboin Indians had the most equalitarian attitudes, lower even than the white youths. The Flathead and Northern Cheyenne adolescents seem to share first and second place, having the least equalitarian attitudes. While the Crow Indian young people exhibited the highest degree of familistic attitudes, they were

approximately in third place with regard to authoritarianism in their marriage role expectations.

The differences in rankings of various tribes on the marriage role expectation test as compared to the familism test points out once again the lack of relationship that was indicated in the first hypothesis. It would seem logical to expect that a group scoring high on familism would also score in the direction of more authoritarian conceptions of marriage roles, but this did not occur in the sample for this investigation. The white adolescents were the most consistent, scoring the lowest of all groups on familism and next to lowest on the Marriage Role Expectation Inventory rankings. But the Assiniboin Indian adolescents, with the most equalitarian score of any group on the marriage role expectation scale, were the second highest group on the Familism Scale.

TABLE 15

AFFECT OF TRIBAL VARIABLES ON THE MARRIAGE ROLE EXPECTATION INVENTORY SCORE

Variables Compared	Variables Significant	F Value Computed	Level of Significance
Tribal Affiliation and Sex	Tribe	2.32	.05
Tribal Affiliation and Grade	Tribe	4.42	.001
Tribal Affiliation and Parents' Marital Status	Tribe	4.96	.001
Tribal Affiliation and Place of Residence	Tribe Place of Res.	4.42 3.65	.001 .01

The pattern that was established in the second hypothesis, in which these same variables were studied in relationship to the Familism Scale scores, continued to hold true when the Marriage Role Expectation Inventory scores were analyzed. Sex, grade in school, and parents' marital status failed to be significant factors in exerting an influence upon the Marriage Role Expectation Inventory score. Place of residence was again found to be significant, and of course the tribal affiliation variable continued to show up as a powerful determinant, reaching the .001 level of significance on three of the four tests.

In hypothesis 4a tribal affiliation and sex were tested to see if they had an influence upon the Marriage Role Expectation Inventory score. Tribal affiliation was significant at the .05 level, and the results of the Duncan Multiple Range Test are presented in Table 16.

TABLE 16

TRIBAL AFFILIATION AND SEX: MARRIAGE ROLE EXPECTATION INVENTORY - SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES BETWEEN TRIBES

Tribe	Mean	Differs .01 Level from Tribe No.	Differs .05 Level from Tribe No.	Fails to Differ from Tribe No.
1. Crow	-12.04	4,5,7	None	2,3,6
2. N. Cheyenne	-12.81	3,5,7	None	1,4,6
3. Flathead	-11.02	4,5,6,7	None	1,2
4. Sioux	-13.77	1,3,5,7	None	2,6
5. Assiniboin	-18.18	All	None	None
6. Other Ind.	-12.70	3,5,7	None	1,2,4
7. White	-16.35	All	None	None

The Assiniboin and white subjects were the only groups whose mean marriage role expectation scores differed significantly from all other groups. Both of these groups had scores that were more strongly

equalitarian than the rest. The other five groups had scores that tended to cluster about a middle range, which means that in this instance the variance was not due to extremes at either end, but to the divergent scores of the Assiniboin and white groups at the lower end of the scale.

There were no differences which attained only the .05 level of significance. Those which failed to differ at the .01 level also failed to differ at the .05 level.

Hypothesis 4b made a test of tribal affiliation and grade in school to ascertain how they influence the marriage role expectation score. Grade in school again was found not significant, while tribal affiliation reached the .001 level of significance. Data from the Duncan test are given in Table 17 for differences between tribes.

TABLE 17

TRIBAL AFFILIATION AND GRADE IN SCHOOL: MARRIAGE ROLE EXPECTATION INVENTORY - SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES BETWEEN TRIBES

Tribe	Mean	Differs .01 Level from Tribe No.	Differs .05 Level from Tribe No.	Fails to Differ from Tribe No.
1. Crow	-11.86	4,5,7	2,3	6
2. N. Cheyenne	-10.08	4,5,6,7	1	3
3. Flathead	-10.93	4,5,6,7	1	2
4. Sioux	-13.89	All	None	None
5. Assiniboin	-18.93	All	None	None
6. Other Ind.	-12.40	2,3,4,5,7	None	1
7. White	-16.35	All	None	None

Means of the Sioux, Assiniboin, and white groups of young people each differed significantly from all other means, and each of the other groups' means differed significantly from three, four, or five of the

groups. There is a rather thorough variation among the groups in this analysis, indicating that differences do not exist just on the basis of one or two divergent group means, but upon variations throughout the set of means.

Table 18 shows the significant differences found by the Duncan test on hypothesis 4c, testing tribal affiliation and parents' marital status. Here again, only tribal affiliation proved to be a significant variable.

TABLE 18

TRIBAL AFFILIATION AND PARENTS' MARITAL STATUS: MARRIAGE ROLE EXPECTATION INVENTORY - SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES BETWEEN TRIBES

Tribe	Mean	Differs .01 Level from Tribe No.	Differs .05 Level from Tribe No.	Fails to Differ from Tribe No.
1. Crow	-11.29	All	None	None
2. N. Cheyenne	- 8.48	1,4,5,6,7	None	3
3. Flathead	- 8.38	1,4,5,6,7	None	2
4. Sioux	-13.95	1,2,3,5,7	None	6
5. Assiniboin	-21.40	All	None	None
6. Other Ind.	-13.36	1,2,3,5,7	None	4
7. White	-16.26	All	None	None

Table 18 approaches the ultimate in variances of group means. Three of the groups' means differed significantly from all other means, while each of the remaining four groups differed from all but one other group. The mean marriage role expectation scores of the Assiniboin and the Northern Cheyenne adolescents represent the most equalitarian and the most traditional group means found in any test in the study. There were extreme scores at both ends of the scale, but there were also significant differences among those groups scoring in between the extreme groups.

The final test (4d) for the hypothesis was made with tribal affiliation and place of residence; both were found to be significant influences upon the marriage role expectation score. Those who lived in town had a mean of -14.35 and the mean for those residing out of town was -12.05. The difference between these two means was significant at the .01 level, which means that the adolescents who lived inside a town were significantly more equalitarian in their concepts of marriage roles than were those who lived out in the country.

Table 19 lists the findings with regard to tribal affiliation on this test.

TABLE 19

TRIBAL AFFILIATION AND PLACE OF RESIDENCE: MARRIAGE ROLE EXPECTATION INVENTORY - SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES BETWEEN TRIBES

Tribe	Mean	Differs .01 Level from Tribe No.	Differs .05 Level from Tribe No.	Fails to Differ from Tribe No.
1. Crow	- 9.71	3,4,5,6,7	None	2
2. N. Cheyenne	-10.61	3,4,5,6,7	None	1
3. Flathead	-12.30	1,2,5,7	None	4,6
4. Sioux	-12.12	1,2,5,7	None	3,6
5. Assiniboin	-18.96	All	None	None
6. Other Ind.	-12.39	1,2,5,7	None	3,4
7. White	-16.32	All	None	None

At the lower end of the scale once again were the Assiniboin and the white youths, whose means differed significantly from all other group means. The least equalitarian group means were those of the Crow and Northern Cheyenne Indian youths. However, neither the highs or lows in this particular test were as extreme as those in the preceding test (Table 18).

Hypothesis 4 in all its parts (4a, b, c, and d) was supported by the evidence of these analyses. Significance was found in each of the four tests, although the variables of sex, grade in school, and parents' marital status did not prove to be significant in affecting the Marriage Role Expectation Inventory score. Place of residence was significant, and in all four tests tribal affiliation showed strong significance. There is a good reason to believe, on the strength of these data, that real, measurable, and significant differences do exist not only between Indian and white adolescents, but between adolescents of different Indian tribes as well.

Hypothesis 5. There is a significant difference in the Marriage Role Expectation scores of Indian and White Adolescents on the basis of

a. Race and Age
b. Race and Sex
c. Race and Academic Achievement
d. Race, Academic Achievement, and Future Educational Plans

Analysis of this hypothesis paralleled that of hypothesis 3, with the exception that instead of the Familism Scale the Marriage Role Expectation Inventory was under scrutiny to see if these variables exerted an influence on how a person would score. Once again the several Indian groups were combined into one, so that direct Indian-White comparisons could be made more readily.

Table 20 shows the results of the analysis of variances done in connection with this hypothesis. Test results failed to reject hypothesis 5a, b, c, or d.

Neither age nor future educational plans were found to be significant influences upon the Marriage Role Expectation Inventory score,

while race, sex, and academic achievement were significant. Race, highly significant when paired with sex and age, was not significant when paired with academic achievement or future educational plans. The evidence suggests that a student's level of academic achievement is important in determining his marriage role expectations, and that in these instances the racial factor is submerged by a more dominant factor.

TABLE 20

AFFECT OF RACIAL VARIABLES ON THE MARRIAGE ROLE EXPECTATION SCORE

Variables Compared	Variables Significant	F Value Computed	Level of Significance
Race and Age	Race	8.47	.01
Race and Sex	Race	15.82	.001
	Sex	7.00	.01
Race and Academic Achievement	Acad. Ach.	17.75	.001
Race, Academic Achievement, and Future Educ. Plans	Acad. Ach.	10.54	.001

In the test on race and age (5a) the racial group means were -11.67 for Indians and -16.38 for whites. Testing race on the race and sex analysis, racial means were -12.95 for the Indian subjects and -16.35 for the white subjects. In both instances the white adolescents had scores that were significantly more equalitarian than those of the Indian adolescents. When testing race and sex, sex was also found to show significance. The mean for males was -13.52 compared to -15.78 for females, meaning that girls were significantly more equalitarian in their conceptions of marriage roles than were boys in this sample.

Academic achievement was found significant in both tests where it was used as a variable. The Duncan test was applied to both of the significant variances, with the results as shown in Table 21.

TABLE 21

RACE, ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT, AND FUTURE EDUCATIONAL PLANS: MARRIAGE ROLE EXPECTATION INVENTORY - SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES IN ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT

Variable	Mean	Differs .01 Level from	Fails to Differ from
Academic Achievement (on Race):			
1. Grades mostly A and B	-19.62	2,3	None
2. Grades mostly B and C	-13.94	1,3	None
3. Grades mostly C or lower	-12.79	1,2	None
Academic Achievement (on Race and Future Educational Plans):			
1. Grades mostly A and B	-19.57	2,3	None
2. Grades mostly B and C	-12.74	1 (3 at .05)	None
3. Grades mostly C or lower	-11.59	1 (2 at .05)	None

In both of these tests all three achievement levels had significant differences with all other levels. In the second test of Table 21, the medium achievement group only differed from the lower achievement group at the .05 level, while all other differences were at the .01 level of significance.

In both tests it was found that more equalitarian marriage role expectations were related to higher achievement in school. Similarly, more traditional marriage role expectations were related in this sample to lower achievement in school.

With at least one element yielding significance in each of the four tests, hypothesis 5a, b, c, and d were supported. Indians were

shown to be more traditional in marriage role expectations than whites in this sample; males were more traditional than females; and low achievers in school were more traditional than high achievers.

Hypothesis 6. There is a significant difference in the Familism Scale scores of Indian Adolescents on the basis of

a. Language and Place of Residence
b. Language and Parents' Marital Status
c. Language and Age
d. Language and Sex

The purpose of this hypothesis was to test the affect of language on the familistic attitudes of students, and to attempt to determine its strength as a sociological variable by placing it in analyses with several different factors which might be expected in themselves to be significant influences on a person's familistic attitudes. It was known to the investigator from the beginning that among many Indian families English is spoken only rarely. Others speak their Indian tongue some of the time, but also rely considerably on English. Still others have almost ceased entirely to speak an Indian tongue. It was not known to what extent this variation in the use of languages by the Indians in this sample would affect their scores on the Familism Scale; no previous studies were discovered which might have been helpful in determining the strength and nature of the influence of language on the familism score.

The hypothesis that language would be a significant variable was soundly supported, attaining the .001 level of significance in each of the four tests (6a, b, c, and d), as shown in Table 22.

TABLE 22

INFLUENCE OF LANGUAGE USAGE ON FAMILISM SCALE SCORES

Variables Compared	Variables Significant	F Value Computed	Level of Significance
Language and Place of Residence	Language	14.06	.001
Language and Parents' Marital Status	Language	10.72	.001
Language and Age	Language	8.56	.001
Language and Sex	Language	16.40	.001

Place of residence, parents' marital status, age, and sex all were found non-significant when tested against language usage. Language was presented as a three-level variable in terms of the language spoken in the home. The levels were (1) only English is spoken; (2) a non-English language is spoken some of the time; and (3) a non-English language is spoken most of the time. It was necessary to eliminate the white adolescents from the language testing because all three language levels were not present in that portion of the sample. Of 150 white students, 143 spoke English exclusively, seven spoke another language occasionally, and none spoke another language at home most of the time.

Language means and significant differences for each of the four tests in the sixth hypothesis are shown in Table 23.

It can be seen from the table that in all cases higher levels of familistic attitudes were associated with non-use of English in the home. Those who spoke only English at home had the lowest familism

scores in three of the four tests (6 a, c, and d): those who spoke a non-English language most of the time at home had the highest Familism mean scores in all four tests.

TABLE 23

LANGUAGE MEANS AND SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES: FAMILISM SCALE
(1 = Only English; 2 = Some non-English; 3 = Mostly non-English)

Test	Language Mean	Differs .01 Level from
Language and Place of Residence	1. 32.33	All
	2. 36.55	All
	3. 44.12	All
Language and Parents' Marital Status	1. 32.10	All
	2. 27.25	All
	3. 42.57	All
Language and Age	1. 32.71	All
	2. 37.90	All
	3. 43.73	All
Language and Sex	1. 32.25	All
	2. 36.86	All
	3. 43.50	All

Hypothesis 6 is very substantially supported by these data. Knowing the language use pattern of an Indian adolescent in this sample gives significant information as to how he will score on the Familism Scale.

Hypothesis 7. There is a significant difference in the Marriage Role Expectation Inventory scores of Indian Adolescents on the basis of

a. Language and Place of Residence
b. Language and Parents' Marital Status
c. Language and Age
d. Language and Sex

This hypothesis is identical to the preceding one with the exception that in the present instance the variables were tested against the Marriage Role Expectation Inventory instead of the Familism Scale. The results, however, differed greatly. In the previous hypothesis language was strongly significant in each test. In the present case language was significant only in one of the analyses, and that was only at the .05 level, whereas the .001 level was attained in all four tests on the Familism Scale. Hypothesis 7b and 7d were rejected; hypothesis 7a and 7c were held tenable.

Findings of the analysis of variance tests for the hypothesis are presented in Table 24. While language usage was a strong predictor of how the subjects in this sample would score on the Familism Scale, it seemed to show little affect on the scoring in the Marriage Role Expectation Inventory. This is in harmony with the findings in the first hypothesis, in which no significant correlation was found between the Familism Scale scores and Marriage Role Expectation Inventory scores of Indian adolescents.

Language and age, the only significant variables in the four tests shown in Table 24, were subjected to the Duncan Multiple Range Test to discover at which levels there were significant differences of means in marriage role expectation scores. In Table 25 the results may be seen.

The language variable did not differentiate between those who spoke only English and those who spoke another language occasionally, but it did differentiate clearly for those who spoke another language

TABLE 24

INFLUENCE OF LANGUAGE USAGE ON MARRIAGE ROLE EXPECTATION INVENTORY SCORES OF INDIAN STUDENTS

Variables Compared	Variables Significant	F Value Computed	Level of Significance
Language and Place of Residence	Language	3.38	.05
Language and Parents' Marital Status	None	--	--
Language and Age	Age	7.52	.001
Language and Sex	None	--	--

TABLE 25

SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES BY LANGUAGE USAGE AND AGE FOR INDIAN STUDENTS: MARRIAGE ROLE EXPECTATION INVENTORY

Variables Tested	Mean	Differs .01 Level from	Fails to Differ from
Language:			
1. Only English spoken	-13.01	3	2
2. Some non-English spoken	-13.68	3	1
3. Mostly non-English spoken	- 8.17	1,2	None
Age:			
1. Age 16 or younger	-15.24	All	None
2. Age 17 or 18	-12.99	All	None
3. Age 19 or older	- 5.47	All	None

at home most of the time. Again, non-use of English was related to more traditional conceptions of marriage roles.

In the age variable a distinct progression may be noted. The younger students held the most equalitarian views of marriage roles;

the second group was somewhat less equalitarian; and the oldest group was decidedly less equalitarian than either of the other groups. According to the data in this sample, it could be said that the older the adolescent, the more traditional his marriage role expectations.

Hypothesis 7a and 7c were held tenable on the basis of these data, while hypothesis 7b and 7d were rejected. Although language usage was found to be quite decisive in influencing scores on the Familism Scale, it appeared to be relatively unimportant as an influence upon the Marriage Role Expectation Inventory scores.

General Implications and Suggestions for Further Study

This study of Indian and white adolescents in eight Montana communities suggests caution and hesitancy in making generalizations to a larger population. Many significant differences were found to exist between Indian and white youths in this sample, and between Indian youths of different tribes. That so many differences exist in spite of the numerous factors of homogeneity in their environmental framework indicates that generalizing to other populations may be false and misleading.

Evidence derived from this study suggests that the Plains Indian of Montana is not a white man with a red skin. He is not just in poorer health, economically deprived, and less well-educated than the white man; he is fundamentally different from the white man. He does not share the white man's basic values and goals in many instances.

With such pervasive differences existing between tribes having a common historic background and rootage and currently living in the same area, one would surely hesitate to apply the findings of the present investigation to Indian adolescents of the southeast or any other geographic region. The most one might fairly say is that real and measurable differences do exist between tribes and that these differences would most likely be found between any tribes one might study.

Perhaps one of the most important contributions of this study relates not to any specific findings but to the study itself. Although Indians have long been the object of much interest, observation, and

speculation, empirical studies of Indians are rare. Still more rare are empirical studies having any relationship to Indian home and family life. There is a great need for "hard data" with regard to the American Indian. It has become less worthwhile to delve deeper into the Indian's colorful and historic past. We need to know what the Indian is like at this time, and substantial facts are much more to be desired than speculation and supposition. The present investigation is an exceedingly modest beginning, and it raises many more questions than it answers, but it does indicate that empirical studies of the Indian family and Indian attitudes about the family are possible.

In the United States at the present time there is much interest in the American Indian. People want to know if the Indian is different, in what ways he is different, and why he is different from the white man. To gain this information, it is doubtful there is any more fruitful area of investigation than the family. Just as any other person, the Indian's basic set of values, his character, and his life style are shaped by the home and family in which he is reared and the social milieu that surrounds him.

Indian adolescents in this study were found to be more familistic than white adolescents, more traditional in their marriage role expectations, lower in academic achievement, and higher in future educational aspirations. Divorce was more prevalent among the parents of Indian youths than among the parents of white youths by a ratio of nearly three to one. Males were more traditional than females, and older adolescents more traditional than younger adolescents.

Although these findings are interesting, they raise other questions which are even more pertinent. Research is needed to provide some answers to questions such as these:

What are Indian attitudes regarding marriage and divorce?

What are the patterns of Indian marital interaction?

What are Indian child-rearing practices?

What are Indian housekeeping, dietary, and hygienic knowledge and practices?

What are Indian attitudes and knowledge regarding family planning and contraception?

What is the Indian social and economic philosophy?

The present study suggests that it is possible to research questions such as the above, and to produce some reliable data in answer to them.

To gain a wider perspective on Indian attitudes toward marriage and the family it would be helpful for the present study to be replicated in other geographic regions of the nation. Also, any studies undertaken with respect to the preceding list of questions would need to be replicated on a regional basis.

Many of the needed investigations of the Indian family are such that they could most effectively be done through personal interviews. Indians, at least the Plains Indians, tend to be somewhat reserved and uncommunicative toward most white persons unless they have had a long acquaintance and trust has been established between them. This suggests that a researcher would have to live among the Indian people closely and establish rapport with them. It also suggests the possibility of

having trained and skillful Indian persons interviewing the subjects as a means of bypassing the trust barrier.

Research on reservation Indian families requires the full cooperation and support of the tribal agency and headquarters personnel. It is important to establish with the authorities the fact that a proposed research project represents more than mere curiosity and will in some way benefit the tribe through greater self-understanding, improved communication with the total society, and the like.

Regarding actual findings of this study, probably the most important among them is that when paired with just about any variable on either the Familism Scale or the Marriage Role Expectation Inventory, the racial and tribal factors were found to be highly significant. Montana Indian adolescents and white adolescents have significantly different feelings, values, and conceptions of marriage, the family, and the home. In addition, youths belonging to one tribe have some significantly different ideas about home, marriage, and the family than do white youths or Indian youths of other tribes.

The most curious finding in this investigation was that of the low mean score in marriage role expectations of the Assiniboin Indian youths. Obviously one tribal group had to be lower than all other tribal groups, but it was surprising to find an Indian tribal group with a lower mean score than that of the white adolescents in the sample. Whether any of the possible explanations is the true cause of the difference is a matter of conjecture at this time.

One possible explanation is that the Assiniboin Indian group in this sample does not truly represent the attitudes of all Assiniboin

youths, and that if another sample were drawn, the marriage role expectation scores would not be lower than the scores of the white adolescents. A second possibility is that this finding is a true representation of Assiniboin youths' attitudes in the present time, and that those who are nearing completion of high school have experienced a dramatic shift of opinion away from the tribal folkways of their people. While such strongly equalitarian views regarding marriage roles may not be the norm for Assiniboins in general, they could very well be accurate with respect to the present generation of educated Assiniboin youths.

The Assiniboins live in the plains of northern Montana, which is a prosperous wheat and cattle region. To a greater degree than the other tribal groups in this study, with the exception of the Sioux, the Assiniboin Indians are in close contact with an affluent white society which they might choose to emulate. But to accept this alternative would then raise the question of why the Sioux have not shown a similar response, since they live on the same reservations as the Assiniboins.

Until some further data can be gathered, the investigator chooses to accept the second explanation. A new and well educated generation of young people may have values and beliefs markedly different from those held by their parents and grandparents. In the total process of Indian acculturation it is reasonable to suppose that occasionally there will be some major shifts and transformations even though the over-all progress is slow.

One way in which these data may be interpreted is in terms of cultural continuity. Although for three or four generations the Montana

Plains Indian has been living in a predominantly white society, and has adapted himself in many ways to its material culture, he has retained many of his most basic values, beliefs, and ideals. It might be conjectured that the differences in values between the Indian and the white man have grown less over the years; there is no reliable data to support or refute such a supposition. But it can be said with some certainty that there do exist at this point in time, some measurable and significant differences between white and Indian youths in these eight Montana communities.

The reservation system is ideally suited to the perpetuation of "Indian-ness" and it seems readily apparent that those Indians who have left reservations to make their living would have made a fuller accomodation to the standards of the white society. Some valuable research could be done in this area, comparing the attitudes of marriage and the family between a group of non-reservation Indians with Indians of the same tribe who have remained on the reservation.

There is a great need for competent empirical research to be done with Indians in the area of marriage and the family. Although the American Indian has been studied a great deal in most respects our store of knowledge about him is very small in the realm of family relations.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY

This research had as its major purpose the exploration of familistic attitudes and marriage role expectations of Indian and white adolescents in relationship to the sociological variables of grade, age, sex, race, tribal affiliation, place of residence, academic achievement, future educational plans, parents' marital status, and language spoken in the home.

Subjects for the investigation were 150 white adolescents from Big Timber and Columbus, Montana, and 135 Indian adolescents from the Montana communities of Ashland, Dixon, Harlem, Lodge Grass, Poplar, and St. Ignatius. All subjects were juniors and seniors in high school. The sample was quite evenly divided between the sexes with 149 males and 136 females. Both the white and Indian portions of the sample were approximately 52 per cent male.

Collection of data took place in December 1970 and January 1971 at the various schools the subjects attended. Each student completed three instruments: A Personal Data Questionnaire designed by the investigator; the Bardis Familism Scale; and the Dunn Marriage Role Expectation Inventory. All of the test instruments were evaluated and scored by the investigator, and the data were coded for transferring to electronic data processing equipment.

Seven hypotheses were formulated and tested. In the first hypothesis the correlation of scores on the Familism Scale and the Marriage Role Expectation Inventory was tested, using the Pearson

product-moment coefficient of correlation. All other hypotheses were tested by the analysis of variance technique with the F test for significance of variances. When a significant variance was discovered in a sociological variable of three or more levels, the Duncan Multiple Range Test was applied in order to determine which of the levels was the source of the variance. Variables such as sex, race, grade, and place of residence had only two levels, and in those cases the analysis of variance alone was able to sufficiently explain the source of the variation in group means.

The .05 level of significance was set as the criterion for the acceptance of rejection of the hypotheses throughout.

On the basis of the statistical procedures outlined above, the results of the examination of the hypotheses were:

1) When the total sample (N = 285) scores on the Familism Scale and Marriage Role Expectation Inventory were correlated, a positive correlation was found, significant at the .01 level. Hypothesis 1a was held tenable, while hypothesis 1b, c, d, e, f, g, h, and i were rejected. Correlations of scores of white subjects, Indian subjects, and Indian tribal groups all failed to achieve significance.

2) Hypothesis 2a, b, c, and d were shown tenable by the data. Familism Scale scores were significantly influenced by tribal affiliation (.001 level), by sex (.01 level), and by place of residence (.05 level). White youths were included as though they were a tribe, for purposes of direct comparison. Crow and Assiniboin Indian adolescents were found to be the most familistic. The Flathead youths were the least familistic Indian group, but the white youths were the least

familistic of all. Males were significantly more familistic than females, and those who lived out of town were more familistic than those who lived in town.

3) The data failed to reject hypothesis 3a, b, c, or d. Familism Scale scores were found to be significantly influenced by race, academic achievement, and future educational plans. Race was found significant at the .001 level in three tests and at the .01 level in the fourth test. On all four tests the Indian youths' scores indicated higher levels of familism than did the scores of the white youths. It was found that higher familism scores were related to lower academic achievement. With regard to future educational plans it was found that the group with the highest mean score on the Familism Scale was the group with the highest educational plans, while the group with the lowest mean familism score was the group with no plans for further education.

4) Hypothesis 4a, b, c, and d found support from the data in the analyses. Marriage Role Expectation Inventory scores were significantly influenced by tribal affiliation. In three tests tribal affiliation achieved significance at the .001 level, and in the fourth test at the .05 level. The white adolescents were included as a tribal group for ready comparison. Northern Cheyenne and Flathead Indian youths held the most traditional marriage role expectations. The Assiniboin Indian youths had the most equalitarian expectations of any group, moreso even than the white youths. Place of residence was found to be significant as an influence upon the marriage role expectation

scores, with those who lived in town evidencing more equalitarian views than those who lived out of town.

5) Race, sex, and academic achievement proved to be significant factors affecting the Marriage Role Expectation Inventory scores. Indian subjects had decidedly more traditional role expectations than white subjects, and males were more traditional than females. In academic achievement it was found that traditional role expectations were related to lower achievement in school; the highest achievement group had the most equalitarian mean scores on the Marriage Role Expectation Inventory. On the basis of these data hypothesis 5a, b, c, and d were all held tenable.

6) The testing failed to reject hypothesis 6a, b, c, or d. For Indian subjects, the language spoken in the home was shown to be highly significant in affecting scores on the Familism Scale. Each test indicated that higher levels of familistic attitudes were related to non-use of English in the home. Those who spoke only English had the least familistic scores; those who spoke another language some of the time at home had significantly higher mean familism scores, while those who spoke a non-English tongue most of the time at home had a mean familism score significantly higher than all the rest.

7) Hypothesis 7a and 7c were held tenable, but 7b and 7d were rejected. Language and parents' marital status, as well as language paired with sex failed to show significance as influences on the Marriage Role Expectation Inventory scores. For Indian adolescents language and age were shown to be significant variables in affecting marriage role expectation scores. However, the only group whose mean score

varied significantly from other group means was the persons who spoke a non-English language most of the time at home. Age was found to be a significant differentiating factor, and there was a sharp increase in traditional expectations as age increased. The youngest group held the most equalitarian marriage role expectations, and the oldest group held very much more traditional views of marriage roles.

Grade in school and parents' marital status were employed as variables in several tests, but failed to show significance in influencing the scores on either the Familism Scale or the Marriage Role Expectation Inventory. Age was also used as a test variable several times but was found to have a significant affect on scores in only one instance (hypothesis 7).

Tribal affiliation, race and place of residence were used as variables in several tests, and in virtually every case proved to be highly significant influences on both the Familism Scale and the Marriage Role Expectation Inventory, although their level of significance on the latter test was sometimes lower than on the Familism Scale. Sex was a significant variable in one test of familism and one test of marriage role expectations. Academic achievement likewise proved significant on one test of each scale, while future educational plans reached significance only once, on a test of familistic attitudes.

The picture that emerges overall is that whether examined by tribal groups or on the broader Indian-White perspective, the Indian youths in this sample consistently appeared as being more traditional in their familistic attitudes and more authoritarian in their marriage role expectations than were the white adolescents. The single exception

to this was the Assiniboin Indian students, whose mean marriage role expectation scores were more equalitarian than all other tribal groups, and even more equalitarian than the mean score of the white portion of the sample.

Data from the analysis of the hypotheses support the conclusion that among the adolescents in this sample, males were more familistic and more authoritarian in marriage role expectations than females; those who lived out in the country were more familistic and more authoritarian in marriage role expectations than those who lived in town. The older Indian students held stronger familistic attitudes and more authoritarian marriage role expectations than did the younger ones. Lesser degrees of familistic attitudes and more equalitarian conceptions of marriage roles were related to higher academic achievement and to more total usage of the English language for communication at home.

With reference to this sample it can be said that there were not only differences between Indian and white adolescents, but also differences between Indian youths of different tribes as regards their familistic attitudes and marriage role expectations. The family seemed more important, more of a cohesive force, among the Indian students than among the white students. And the Indian students in broad general terms seemed to feel more inclined than the white students to perpetuate the traditional conceptions of marriage roles.

The attitude toward the family expressed by an aged Pomo Indian in northern California (Aginsky, 1940) serves well to summarize the general feeling that emerges from this study:

What is a man? A man is nothing. Without his family he is of less importance than a bug crossing a trail. . . . A man must be with his family to amount to anything with us. . . . The family is important. If a man has a large family and a profession and upbringing by a family that is known to produce good children, then he is somebody and every family is willing to have him marry a woman of their group. . . . In the white way of doing things the family is not so important. The police and soldiers take care of protecting you, the courts give you justice, the post office carries messages for you, the school teaches you. Everything is taken care of, even your children, if you die; but with us the family must do all of that.

Without the family we are nothing, and in the old days before the white people came the family was given first consideration by anyone who was about to do anything at all. That is why we got along. We had no courts, judges, schools, and other things you have, but we got along better than you. . . . We were taught to leave people alone. We were taught to consider that other people had to live. We were taught that we would suffer from the devil, spirits, ghosts, or other people if we did not support one another. The family was everything, and no man ever forgot that. Each person was nothing, but as a group joined by blood the individual knew that he would get the support of all his relatives if anything happened. . . .

But the white people were different from us. They wanted to take the world for themselves. My grandfather told me that the white people were homeless and had no families. . . . They had no manners. They did not know how to get along with other people. They were strangers who were rough and common and did not know how to behave. . . . They do not help one another when they are in trouble, and they do not care what happens to other people. . . . We would not let a person die of starvation when we had plenty of food. We would not bury our dead with no show, . . . we would not treat a stranger the way they treat their own brothers and sisters. Your people are hard to understand. . . .

With us the family was everything. Now it is nothing. We are getting like the white people, and it is bad for the old people. We had no old people's homes like you. The old people were important. They were wise. Your old people must be fools (p. 43-44).

APPENDIX

PERSONAL DATA QUESTIONNAIRE

School:_____Grade: _____ Jr. _____Sr.

Age: _____ Date of Birth: _____Sex: _____M _____F

Race: _____Indian _____Tribe _____White

Degree of Indian Blood: _____Full-blooded _____Half or more

_____Less than half

Place of Residence: _____In Town _____Not in Town

Academic Achievement: For the last two years of school, which of the following most resembles your grades?

_____Mostly A's & B's _____Mostly B's & C's _____Mostly C's & Lower

Educational Plans: When you finish high school do you plan to:

____Go to College _____Go to a business or trade school

____Not go on to any kind of school

Parents' Marital Status: _____Neither of my parents has been divorced

_____One of my parents had a previous marriage

_____Both of my parents had a previous marriage

Family Size: Counting yourself, there are _____ children in the family

Langauge at Home: _____Only English is spoken in my home

_____A non-English language is spoken at home some of the time

_____A non-English language is spoken at home most of the time

Home Life: Which of the below tells how you feel about your home life?

____Very Good ____Good _____Average _____Poor _____Very Poor

Marriage: How would you rate your parents' marriage?

____Very good ____Good _____Average _____Poor _____ Very Poor

A FAMILISM SCALE

Below is a list of issues concerning the family in general, not your own. Please read all statements very carefully and respond to all of them on the basis of your own true beliefs without consulting any other person. Do this by reading each statement and then writing, in the space provided at its left, only one of the following numbers: 0, 1, 2, 3, 4. The meaning of each figure is:

0: Strongly Disagree
1: Disagree
2: Undecided
3: Agree
4: Strongly Agree

For research purposes, you must consider all statements as they are, without modifying any of them in any way.

____ 1. Children below 18 should give almost all their earnings to their parents.
____ 2. Children below 18 should almost always obey their older brothers and sisters.
____ 3. A person should always consider the needs of his family as a whole more important than his own.
____ 4. A person should always be expected to defend his family against outsiders even at the expense of his own personal safety.
____ 5. The family should have the right to control the behavior of each of its members completely.
____ 6. A person should always avoid every action of which his family disapproves.
____ 7. A person should always be completely loyal to his family.
____ 8. The members of a family should be expected to hold the same political, ethical, and religious beliefs.
____ 9. Children below 18 should always obey their parents.
____ 10. A person should always help his parents with the support of his younger brothers and sisters if necessary.
____ 11. A person should always support his uncles or aunts if they are in need.
____ 12. The family should consult close relatives (aunts, uncles, first cousins) concerning its important decisions.
____ 13. At least one married child should be expected to live in the parental home.
____ 14. A person should always support his parents-in-law if they are in need.
____ 15. A person should always share his home with his uncles, aunts, or first cousins if they are in need.
____ 16. A person should always share his home with this parents-in-law if they are in need.

MARRIAGE ROLE EXPECTATION INVENTORY

Form M

In an effort to do a better job of helping young people to prepare for marriage and family living, we need to know what they expect of marriage. On the pages that follow you will find statements about such expectations for husbands and for wives. Please think in terms of what you expect of your own marriage as you read each statement. This is not a test and you are not to be graded. There are no right or wrong answers because each of us is entitled to his own opinion.

Encircle the symbol that represents your opinion of each statement.

PLEASE ANSWER EVERY QUESTION.

Key

SA--Strongly Agree
A--Agree
U--Undecided
D--Disagree
SD--Strongly Disagree

IN MY MARRIAGE I EXPECT:

SA A U D SD	1.	that if there is a difference of opinion, I will decide where to live.
SA A U D SD	2.	that my wife's opinion will carry as much weight as mine in money matters.
SA A U D SD	3.	to help my wife with the housework.
SA A U D SD	4.	that it would be undesirable for my wife to be better educated than I.
SA A U D SD	5.	that if we marry before going to college, my wife and I will do our best to go on to earn college degrees.
SA A U D SD	6.	my wife to combine motherhood and a career if that proves possible.
SA A U D SD	7.	to be the "boss" who says what is to be done and what is not to be done.
SA A U D SD	8.	that my wife will be as well informed as I concerning the family's financial status and business affairs.
SA A U D SD	9.	to leave the care of the children entirely up to my wife when they are babies.
SA A U D SD	10.	to be as interested in spending time with the girls as with the boys in our family.
SA A U D SD	11.	that if my wife prefers a career to having children we will have the right to make that choice.
SA A U D SD	12.	that for the most successful family living my wife and I will need more than a high school education.
SA A U D SD	13.	it will be more important for my wife to be a good cook and housekeeper than for her to be an attractive, interesting companion.

SA A U D SD 14. that being married will not keep me from going to college.

SA A U D SD 15. that the "family schedule" such as when the meals will be served and when television can be turned on, will be determined by my wishes and working hours.

SA A U D SD 16. that my wife and I will share responsibility for housework if both of us work outside the home.

SA A U D SD 17. that keeping the yard, making repairs, and doing outside chores will be the responsibility of whoever has the time and wishes to do them.

SA A U D SD 18. if as a husband I am a good worker, respectable and faithful to my family, other personal characteristics are of considerably less importance.

SA A U D SD 19. that it will be more important that my wife has a good family background than that she has a compatible personality and gets along well with people.

SA A U D SD 20. that I will decide almost all money matters.

SA A U D SD 21. that my wife and I shall have equal privileges in such things as going out at night.

SA A U D SD 22. that my major responsibility to our children will be to make a good living, provide a home and make them mind.

SA A U D SD 23. that since doing things like laundry, cleaning, and child care are "woman's work," I will feel no responsibility for them.

SA A U D SD 24. week-ends to be a period of rest for me, so I will not be expected to assist with cooking and housekeeping.

SA A U D SD 25. that if I help with the housework, my wife will help me with outside chores such as keeping the yard, painting or repairing the house.

SA A U D SD 26. that my wife and I will have equal voice in decisions affecting the family as a whole.

SA A U D SD 27. that after marriage my wife will forget an education and make a home for me.

SA A U D SD 28. that my wife will love and respect me regardless of the kind of work that I do.

SA A U D SD 29. my wife to work outside the home if she enjoys working more than staying at home.

SA A U D SD 30. that both my wife and I will concern ourselves with the social and emotional development of our children.

SA A U D SD 31. it will be just as important that I am congenial, love and enjoy my family as that I earn a good living.

SA A U D SD 32. that it will be equally important that my wife is affectionate and understanding as that she is thrifty and skillful in housekeeping.

SA A U D SD 33. that it will be my responsibility and privilege to choose where we will go and what we will do when we go out.

SA A U D SD 34. to manage my time so I can show a genuine interest in what our children do.

SA A U D SD 35. that my wife will let me tell her how to vote.

SA A U D SD 36. that my wife and I will take an active interest together in what's going on in our community.

SA A U D SD 37. that if my wife can cook, sew, keep house, and care for children, any other kind of education for her is unnecessary.

SA A U D SD 38. that having compatible personalities will be considerably less important to us than such characteristics as being religious, honest, and hard working.

SA A U D SD 39. it will be only natural that I will be the one concerned about politics and what is going on in the world.

SA A U D SD 40. my wife to accept the fact that I will devote most of my time to getting ahead and becoming a success.

SA A U D SD 41. that being married should cause little or no change in my social or recreational activities.

SA A U D SD 42. that my wife will generally prefer talking about something like clothes, places to go, and "women's interests" to talking about complicated international and economic affairs.

SA A U D SD 43. that my wife's activities outside the home will be largely confined to those associated with the church.

SA A U D SD 44. my wife to stay at home to care for the children and me instead of using time attending club meetings and entertainment outside the home.

SA A U D SD 45. that an education is important for my wife whether or not she works outside the home.

SA A U D SD 46. that my wife will keep herself informed and active in the work of the community.

SA A U D SD 47. that since I must earn the living, I can't be expected to take time to "play" with the children.

SA A U D SD 48. that it is my wife's job rather than mine to set a good example and see that the family goes to church.

SA A U D SD 49. it will be more important that as a husband I am ambitious and a good provider than that I am kind, understanding, and get along well with people.

SA A U D SD 50. it will be equally as important for my wife to find time to enjoy our children as to do things like bathing, dressing, and feeding them.

SA A U D SD 51. my wife to fit her life to mine.

SA A U D SD 52. that managing and planning for spending money will be a joint proposition between my wife and me.

SA A U D SD 53. to manage my time so I will be able to share in the care of the children.

SA A U D SD 54. that having guests in our home will not prevent my lending a hand with serving meals or keeping the house orderly.

SA A U D SD 55. that we will permit the children to share, according to their abilities, with the parents in making family decisions.

SA A U D SD 56. to help wash or dry dishes.

SA A U D SD 57. entire responsibility for earning the family living.

SA A U D SD 58. that staying at home with the children will be my wife's duty rather than mine.

SA A U D SD 59. that an education for me will be as important in making me a more cultured person as in helping me to earn a living.

SA A U D SD 60. to feel equally as responsible for the children after work and on holidays as my wife does.

SA A U D SD 61. to make most of the decisions concerning the children such as where they will go and what they may do.

SA A U D SD 62. that it will be exclusively my wife's duty to do the cooking and keeping the house in order.

SA A U D SD 63. that I will forget about an education after I am married and support my wife.

SA A U D SD 64. that my wife and I will share household tasks according to individual interests and abilities rather than according to "woman's work" and "man's work."

SA A U D SD 65. as far as education is concerned, that it is unimportant for my wife or me if both of us are ambitious and hard working.

SA A U D SD 66. to earn a good living if I expect love and respect from my family.

SA A U D SD 67. whether or not my wife works will depend upon what we as a couple think is best for our own happiness.

SA A U D SD 68. that if my wife is not going to work outside the home, there is no reason for getting a college education.

SA A U D SD 69. as our children grow up the boys will be more my responsibility while the girls are my wife's.

SA A U D SD 70. that my wife and I will feel equally responsible for looking after the welfare of our children.

SA A U D SD 71. that my wife will take full responsibility for care and training of our children so that I can devote my time to my work.

MARRIAGE ROLE EXPECTATION INVENTORY

Form F

In an effort to do a better job of helping young people to prepare for marriage and family living, we need to know what they expect of marriage. On the pages that follow you will find statements about such expectations for husbands and for wives. Please think in terms of what you expect of your own marriage as you read each statement. This is not a test and you are not to be graded. There are no right or wrong answers because each of us is entitled to his own opinion.

Encircle the symbol that represents your opinion of each statement.

PLEASE ANSWER EVERY QUESTION.

Key
SA--Strongly Agree
A--Agree
U--Undecided
D--Disagree
SD--Strongly Disagree

IN MY MARRIAGE I EXPECT:

SA A U D SD 1. that if there is a difference of opinion, my husband will decide where to live.
SA A U D SD 2. that my opinion will carry as much weight as my husband's in money matters.
SA A U D SD 3. my husband to help with the housework.
SA A U D SD 4. that it would be undesirable for me to be better educated than my husband.
SA A U D SD 5. that if we marry before going to college, my husband and I will do our best to go on to earn college degrees.
SA A U D SD 6. to combine motherhood, and a career if that proves possible
SA A U D SD 7. my husband to be the "boss" who says what is to be done and what is not to be done.
SA A U D SD 8. that I will be as well informed as my husband concerning the family's financial status, and business affairs.
SA A U D SD 9. my husband to leave the care of the children entirely up to me when they are babies.
SA A U D SD 10. my husband to be as interested in spending time with the girls as with the boys in our family.
SA A U D SD 11. that if I prefer a career to having children, we will have the right to make that choice.
SA A U D SD 12. that for the most successful family living my husband and I will need more than a high school education.
SA A U D SD 13. it will be more important for me to be a good cook and housekeeper than for me to be an attractive, interesting companion.
SA A U D SD 14. that being married will not keep my husband from going to college.

SA A U D SD 15. that the family "schedule" such as when meals are served and when the television can be turned on will be determined by my husband's wishes and working hours.

SA A U D SD 16. that my husband and I will share responsibility for work if both of us work outside the home.

SA A U D SD 17. that keeping the yard, making repairs, and doing outside chores will be the responsibility of whoever has the time and wishes to do them.

SA A U D SD 18. if my husband is a good worker, respectable and faithful to his family, other personal characteristics are of considerably less importance.

SA A U D SD 19. it will be more important that as a wife I have a good family background than that I have a compatible personality and get along well with people.

SA A U D SD 20. that almost all money matters will be decided by my husband.

SA A U D SD 21. that my husband and I shall have equal privileges in such things as going out at night.

SA A U D SD 22. that my husband's major responsibility to our children will be to make a good living, provide a home and make them mind.

SA A U D SD 23. that since doing things like laundry, cleaning, and child care are "woman's work", my husband will feel no responsibility for them.

SA A U D SD 24. week ends to be a period of rest for my husband, so he will not be expected to assist with cooking and housekeeping.

SA A U D SD 25. that if my husband helps with the housework, I will help with outside chores such as keeping the yard, painting or repairing the house.

SA A U D SD 26. that my husband and I will have equal voice in decisions affecting the family as a whole.

SA A U D SD 27. that after marriage I will forget an education and make a home for my husband.

SA A U D SD 28. that I will love and respect my husband regardless of the kind of work he does.

SA A U D SD 29. to work outside the home if I enjoy working more than staying at home.

SA A U D SD 30. that both my husband and I will concern ourselves with the social and emotional development of our children.

SA A U D SD 31. it will be just as important for my husband to be congenial, love and enjoy his family as to earn a good living.

SA A U D SD 32. that it will be equally as important that as a wife I am affectionate and understanding as that I am thrifty and skillful in housekeeping.

SA A U D SD 33. that it will be my husband's responsibility and privilege to choose where we will go and what we will do when we go out.

SA A U D SD 34. to manage my time so that I can show a genuine interest in what our children do.

SA A U D SD 35. that I will let my husband tell me how to vote.
SA A U D SD 36. that my husband and I will take an active interest together in what our children do.
SA A U D SD 37. that if I can cook, sew, keep house, and care for children any other kind of education for me is unnecessary.
SA A U D SD 38. chat having compatible personalities will be considerably less important to us than such characteristics as being religious, honest, and hard working.
SA A U D SD 39. it will be only natural that my husband will be the one concerned about politics and what is going on in the world.
SA A U D SD 40. to accept the fact that my husband will devote most of his time to getting ahead and becoming a success.
SA A U D SD 41. that being married should cause little or no change in my husband's social or recreational activities.
SA A U D SD 42. that I will generally prefer talking about something like clothes, places to go, and "women's interests" to talking about complicated international and economic affairs.
SA A U D SD 43. that my activities outside the home will be largely confined to those associated with the church.
SA A U D SD 44. to stay at home to care for my husband and children instead of using time attending club meetings, and entertainment outside the home.
SA A U D SD 45. that an education is important for me whether or not I work outside the home.
SA A U D SD 46. that I will keep myself informed and active in the work of the community.
SA A U D SD 47. that since my husband must earn a living, he can't be expected to take time to "play" with the children.
SA A U D SD 48. that it is my job rather than my husband's to set a good example and see that my family goes to church.
SA A U D SD 49. it will be more important that my husband is ambitious and a good provider than that he is kind, understanding and gets along well with people.
SA A U D SD 50. it will be equally as important to find time to enjoy our children as to do things like bathing, dressing and feeding them.
SA A U D SD 51. to fit my life to my husband's.
SA A U D SD 52. that managing and planning for spending money will be a joint proposition between my husband and me.
SA A U D SD 53. my husband to manage his time so that he will be able to share in the care of the children.
SA A U D SD 54. that having guests in our home will not prevent my husband's lending a hand with serving meals or keeping the house orderly.
SA A U D SD 55. that we will permit the children to share, according to their abilities, with the parents in making family decisions.
SA A U D SD 56. my husband to help wash or dry dishes.

SA A U D SD 57. my husband to be entirely responsible for earning the family living for our family.

SA A U D SD 58. that staying at home with the children will be my duty rather than my husband's.

SA A U D SD 59. that an education for my husband will be as important in making him a more cultured person as in helping him to earn a living.

SA A U D SD 60. my husband to feel equally as responsible for the children after work and on holidays as I do.

SA A U D SD 61. my husband to make most of the decisions concerning the children such as where they will go and what they may do.

SA A U D SD 62. that it will be exclusively my duty to do the cooking and keeping the house in order.

SA A U D SD 63. that my husband will forget about an education after he is married and support his wife.

SA A U D SD 64. that my husband and I will share household tasks according to individual interests and abilities rather than according to "woman's work" and "man's work."

SA A U D SD 65. as far as education is concerned, that it is unimportant for either my husband or me if both of us are ambitious and hard working.

SA A U D SD 66. my husband to earn a good living if he expects love and respect from his family.

SA A U D SD 67. whether or not I work will depend on what we as a couple think is best for our own happiness.

SA A U D SD 68. that if I am not going to work outside the home, there is no reason for my getting a college education.

SA A U D SD 69. as our children grow up the boys will be more my husband's responsibility while the girls will be mine.

SA A U D SD 70. that my husband and I will feel equally responsible for looking after the welfare of our children.

SA A U D SD 71. that I will take full responsibility for care and training of our children so that my husband can devote his time to his work.

APPENDIX TABLE 1

TYPES OF ITEMS IN THE MARRIAGE ROLE EXPECTATION INVENTORY

Sub-Scale	Items Number		
	Husband's Role	Wife's Role	Husband's & Wife's Role
A. Authority			
Trad.	1,7,20,61	51	--
Equal.	--	2,8	21,26,52,55
B. Homemaking			
Trad.	23,24	15,62	--
Equal.	3,54,56	25	16,17,64
C. Care of Children			
Trad.	9,22	58,71	69
Equal.	10,53,60	34,50	50,70
D. Personal Characteristics			
Trad.	18,49	13,19,48	38
Equal.	31	32	--
E. Social Participation			
Trad.	33,39,40,41,47	35,42,43,44	--
Equal.	--	46	36
F. Education			
Trad.	63	4,27,37,68	65
Equal.	14,59	45	5,12
G. Employment and Support			
Trad.	57,66	--	--
Equal.	28	6,11,29,67	--

Total, 71 Items; Equalitarian, 34; Traditional, 37.

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VITA

Robert William Lind was born July 31, 1929 at Custer, Montana, the sixth child of Peter William Lind and Mildred Judd Lind. He was married to Carol Jean Dover at Chinook, Montana on April 4, 1948. They have four children: Janice Kay, Kathie Anne, Robert Edwin, and Douglas William.

Mr. Lind attended public elementary schools in Dayton and Polson, Montana, and graduated from high school at Polson, Montana in 1946. After serving an enlistment in the United States Army, he received the B. A. degree with a major in education in 1954. In 1957 he received the Master of Theology degree from the Iliff School of Theology (Methodist) in Denver, Colorado.

Mr. Lind's professional experiences include four years of teaching in Montana public elementary schools, and fourteen years of service as a local church pastor of Methodist Churches.

In 1968, Mr. Lind came to Montana State University to begin preparation for an advanced degree, and in September of 1969 he entered the doctoral program in the Department of Home and Family Life at the Florida State University. While there he was a graduate teaching assistant in child development.

Mr. Lind is the author of a book and has had several articles published in Methodist periodicals. He is a member of Omicron Nu, and is currently President of the Montana Council on Family Relations, the Montana affiliate of the National Council on Family Relations. He is at present assistant professor of family relations at Montana State University, School of Home Economics, Bozeman, Montana.